

# **For Reference**

---

**NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM**







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2018 with funding from  
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/Ream1953>

thesis  
1953  
#22

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION  
OF THE DEAD SEA HABAKKUK SCROLL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO

THE GENERAL FACULTY COUNCIL

COMMITTEE ON BACHELOR OF DIVINITY DEGREES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

BY

PETER TENNANT REAM, M.A.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

February 18, 1953



### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made of the invaluable assistance of Dr. L. E. Toombs, Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at St. Stephen's College, with whose guidance this thesis was written.

P. T. R.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Bibliography ... ..	1
Abbreviations ... ..	5
<u>PART I</u> Translation and Notes ... ..	6
Introductory Note ... ..	7
Notation ... ..	9
Translation ... ..	10
Notes ... ..	23
<u>PART II</u> The Interpretation and Historical Setting of the Scroll ... ..	75
<u>Appendix A</u> The Wicked Priest and his Sobriquets	94
<u>Appendix B</u> The Migration to Damascus ... ..	97
<u>Appendix C</u> The Identification of the Chittiim	101



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- E. R. Bevan: Syria and the Jews, in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol.VIII, Chap. XVI. Cambridge, 1930.
- E. R. Bevan: The Jews, in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol.IX, Chap. IX. Cambridge, 1932.
- M. Burrows, J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee: The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol.I. The American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven. 1950.
- R. H. Charles: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol.II. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1913.
- F. Josephus: Works (W. Whiston, tr.). Standard Edition. Porter and Coates, Philadelphia. N.D.
- R. Kittel: Biblia Hebraica. Stuttgart. 1949.
- A. S. Peake: A Commentary on the Bible. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd. 1936. A. R. Gordon: Habakkuk, pp.566-568. H. M. Gwatkin: Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem, pp. 607-611.



- R. H. Pfeiffer: History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha. Harper and Brothers, New York. 1949.
- H. H. Rowley: The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 1952.
- G. A. Smith: The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Vol.II. The Expositor's Bible. Hodder and Stoughton. 1898. Habakkuk, pp.113-159.
- N. Snaith: The Jews from Cyrus to Herod. The Religious Education Press, Ltd., Wallington, Surrey. 1949.
- W. B. Stevenson: Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1924.
- W. H. Ward: Habakkuk, in the International Critical Commentary. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1911.

#### Periodicals

- S. A. Birnbaum: The Date of the Cave Scrolls. BASOR 115 (Oct. 1949), pp.20-22.
- W. H. Brownlee: The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll. BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), pp.8-18.
- W. H. Brownlee: Further Light on Habakkuk. BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.9f.



- W. H. Brownlee: Further Correction of the Translation of the Habakkuk Scroll. BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), pp.14-16.
- W. H. Brownlee: The Original Height of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Scroll. BASOR 118 (April 1950), pp.7-9.
- W. H. Brownlee: The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline. BASOR Supplementary Studies Nos.10-12. 1951.
- W. H. Brownlee: The Historial Allusions of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash. BASOR 126 (April 1952), pp.10-20.
- F. V. Filson: Some Recent Study of the Scrolls. BA Vol.XIII, No.4 (Dec. 1950), pp.96-99.
- D. N. Freedman: The "House of Absalom" in the Habakkuk Scroll. BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.11f.
- H. L. Ginsberg: The Hebrew University Scrolls from the Sectarian Cache. BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), pp.19-23.
- I. Rabinowitz: The Second and Third Columns of the Habakkuk Interpretation Scroll. JBL Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), pp.31-49.
- M. H. Segal: The Habakkuk "Commentary" and the Damascus Fragments. JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), pp.131-147.





S. M. Stern: Notes on the New Manuscript Find. JBL  
Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), pp.19-30.

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*



ABBREVIATIONS

AV	Authorised Version
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
CDC	The Cairo Genizah Document of the Damascus Covenanters <sup>1</sup>
DSD	The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline <sup>2</sup>
DSH	The Habakkuk Commentary of the Dead Sea Scrolls
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
LXX	The Septuagint
MT	The Massoretic Text

---

<sup>1</sup>As translated by Charles under the title, "The Fragments of a Zadokite Work"; Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol.II, pp.799-834.

<sup>2</sup>As translated by Brownlee in BASOR Supplementary Studies, Nos.10-12, 1951.



P A R T I

Translation and Notes



### Introductory Note

It should first be pointed out that there is no distinction at all between ) and ' in this manuscript, and so variant readings may be obtained in several places (cf. note on 9:9; בַּעֲיוֹן is read, but other scholars prefer בַּעֲוֹן).

Further, in this manuscript there are several variants from classical Hebrew, notably in the use of װ and ן to close a long vowel. The author evidently feels free to use either form, thus indicating that his orthography can be influenced by the Aramaic which he spoke. Further evidence of this influence is adduced from an Aramaic loan word פִּשְׁרִי inflected as from a Hebrew verb פִּשַׁר (see note on 2:8). Stevenson, referring to the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM) and the Targums (OJ) says, "In unvocalised texts (PTM) װ, ן, ), and ' are freely used to indicate vowels",<sup>1</sup> and " װ and ן both represent a final long vowel, especially ā. In PTM and OJ װ is the more commonly used".<sup>1</sup> Some examples from DSH follow:-

הַכְּשָׁדִים 2:11. Cf. הַכְּשָׁדִים Hab. 1:6.

הַכְּבִּיאִים 2:12, 14; 3:4, 9; 4:5, 10; 6:1, 10; 9:7.

---

<sup>1</sup>Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, p.11.





Contrast  $\text{נ'כ'פ'}$  (2:2) with  $\text{כ'פ'}$  (2:7).

Contrast  $\text{נ'מ'י'נ'ו}$  (2:6) with  $\text{נ'מ'י'נ'ו}$  (2:4) and  $\text{נ'מ'י'נ'ו}$  (2:14), and similar forms of the 3rd plural throughout the document.

Contrast  $\text{ה'ג'ו'מ'}$  (3:4a) with  $\text{ה'ג'ו'מ'}$  (5:3,4; 12:13; 13:1, etc.).

$\text{ש'ל'ו'ת'ה}$  (8:15) is written for the MT  $\text{ש'ל'ו'}$ .

$\text{ו'י'ש'ל'ו'כ'ה}$  (8:15) is written for the MT  $\text{י'ש'ל'ו'ך}$ .

$\text{י'ע'צ'ל'ה}$  (9:13) is written for the MT  $\text{י'ע'צ'}$ .

$\text{כ'ב'ו'ד'כ'ה}$  (11:11) is written for the MT  $\text{כ'ב'ו'ד'ך}$ .

An example may be cited of the imperfect of a  $\text{נ'פ'}$  verb being inflected as in Aramaic:-<sup>1</sup>

8:7  $\text{ו'י'מ'ר'ו}$  (for  $\text{ו'י'מ'ר'ו}$ ), and probably 6:1  $\text{ו'י'ס'פ'ו}$  (for  $\text{ו'י'ס'פ'ו}$ ).

\* \* \* \* \*

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit. p.63.



Notation

- / represents the end of a line.
- \* \* represents a word or phrase transposed from another line for the sake of clarity.
- ( ) represents a conjectural addition.
- ? represents a letter partly visible and indecipherable because it is not part of a recognisable word.
- # represents a letter which is recognisable, but is untranslatable because of the fragmentary character of the text.

Marginal numbers indicate the line of the Hebrew text.



Translation

Column 1

1 ("The oracle which Habakkuk the prophet received by  
vision. How long, O Yahweh,) have I cried out for help,  
2 and \*(thou hast)\* not / (heard - shall I cry to thee  
'Oppression', and thou wilt not save?" Its meaning  
3 concerns) .....?## generation / .....  
4 .....## against them / .....  
5 ..?## against / .....("Why dost thou cause me to  
6 see wickedness and to look at trea(chery)?" /.....  
7 .....God in oppression and treachery / ...  
8 ..... / .....  
9 ... and they ab(ho)r ?...? and strife / .....  
10 .....?### #?..? he / ..... "Therefore  
11 law is paralysed / (and justice never goes forth". The  
12 meaning of the passage is) that they despised God's law / ...  
..... ("For a wicked man will beleague)r the  
13 righteous man". / (Its meaning is 'a wicked man', he is  
the Wicked Priest, and 'the righteous man',) he is the  
14 Teacher of Righteousness. / .....  
15 ..("Th)erefore a (\*perverted\*) justice goes forth". / (Its  
meaning concerns ..... a)nd not ?...



Column 2

1 it is declared". (Its meaning concerns) ..... and  
2 deceivers, people of the Man of / the Lie, for (they  
3 did) not (believe the words of) the Teacher of  
4 Righteousness from the mouth of / God; and it concerns  
5 those who are faith(less to) the New (Covenant), f(o)r  
6 \*they did\* not / believe in the Covenant of God, (but  
7 have profaned) his (h)oly \*and upright\* na(me). / The  
8 meaning of the passage (is that the de)ceivers in the  
9 last / days they are the ones who are the viole(nt of  
10 the natio)ns who do not believe / in those who hear all  
11 the things that are to (come upon) the last generation  
12 from the mouth of / the priest in whose (heart) God  
13 set (wisdo)m to interpret all / the words of his servants  
14 the prophets (by whose) hand God has declared / all the  
15 things that are to come upon his people and ?.....  
16 ("F)or behold I raise up / the Chaldeans, the cr(uel and  
impetu)ous nation". / Its meaning concerns the Chittiim  
w(ho) are swift and mighty / in war laying waste m(a)ny  
..... in the kingdom of / the Chittiim, and ##.....  
.....? and they do not believe / in the statutes of  
(Go)d ..... / ##.....  
.....





Column 3

1 and in righteousness. They march out to crush and plunder  
2 the cities of the land; / for he it is who said, "To  
3 seize dwelling-places not his own". "Terrible / and to  
4 be dreaded is he; his justice and honour leave him". / Its  
meaning concerns the Chittim whose terror a(nd dr)ead  
4a,5 are upon all / the nations. / And in deliberation all  
their machinations are to do evil; and wi(th de)ceit  
6 and fraud / they march against all the peoples. "And  
7 swifter than leopards are his horses, and fiercer / than  
evening wolves. His horsemen spread themselves and  
8 deploy from afar, / and they pounce like an eagle eager  
for prey. He is complete(ly) bent on violence; the  
9 set of / his face it is eastward". (Its meaning)  
10 concerns the Chittim who / trample the land with (their)  
11 horse(s) and with their beasts; and 'from afar' / they  
come from the coastlands of the sea 'to devour' (a)ll  
12 the peoples 'like an eagle', / but they are not sated.  
And with wrath are they a(ngry, and with a) burning  
13 rage and a fury of / anger do they speak with all (the  
14 peoples; fo)r he it is who / said, "The s(et of his  
face it is eastward". "And he sweeps up) captives  
15 (like the san)d". / I(ts meanin)g .....  
.....



Column 4

1 \*("And he it is that)\* scoffs \*(at kings)\*, and princes  
2 are his derision". Its meaning is that / they laugh  
3 at the great and treat the esteemed with contempt; / they  
mock \*at kings\* and princes and scoff at a mighty nation.  
4 "And he it is that / scorns every fortress, and piles up  
5 earth and captures it". / Its meaning concerns the rulers  
6 of the Chittiim who treat with contempt / the fortresses  
7 of the nations and with derision mock them; / and with  
many people they surround them in order to seize them;  
8 and with dread and terror / are they surrendered into their  
9 hand and they destroy iniquitously those who dwell / in  
them. "Then his purpose changes and he passes on; but  
10 he whose might is \*his god\* shall be desolate". / (Its)  
11 meaning (con)cerns the rulers of the Chittiim / who,  
according to the policy of (their) guilty house, remove  
12 a man / from before his compatriots, being ruler(s over  
13 the)m. After this they come / to destroy the p(eoples.  
14 "But h)e whose might is his god (shall be desolate".) / Its  
15 meaning .....# the peoples / .....  
.....#



Column 5

1 "For judgement hast thou established him, (\*O Yahweh\*)?  
And, O Rock, hast thou appointed him for his judge?  
2 Thine eyes are too pure / to behold evil, and thou  
3 canst not look at iniquity". / The meaning of the passage  
is that God will not destroy his people by the hand of  
4 the gentiles, / but into the hand of his elect will God  
commit the judgement of all the gentiles, and in their  
5 chastening / there shall undergo punishment all the  
6 wicked from among his people who kept his commandments / in  
their distress; for he it is who said, "Thine eyes are  
7 too pure to behold / evil". Its meaning is that they  
did not go astray after their eyes in the consummation  
8 of / wickedness. "Why do ye gaze upon deceivers, and  
9 art dumb when \*the wicked\* greedily swallow up / one more  
righteous than he." Its meaning concerns the house of  
10 Absalom / and their counsellors who were silenced by the  
11 rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness / and did not  
12 help him against the Man of the Lie, who rejected / the  
law in the midst of their whole ass(embly). "And thou  
13 hast made man as the fish of the sea, / as a creeping  
thing, in order to rule over him. All of (him) he hauls  
14 up (with a ho)ok and he drags him up with his net, / and





catches him (in his drag-net; therefore he sacrifices  
15 frequently) to his net; thus he rejoices / (and  
exul)ts, (and burns incense to his drag-net; for through  
16 them is) his portion (f)at, / (and his food rich".) .....  
.....

Column 6

1 the Chittiim; and they gathered their wealth together  
2 with all their loot / as fish of the sea. And what he  
said is, "Therefore he sacrifices frequently to his  
3 net, / and burns incense to his drag-net". Its meaning  
4 is that they are the ones who / sacrifice to their  
standards, and the weapons of their military campaigns  
5 these are / the object of their reverence. "For through  
6 them is his portion fat, and his food rich". / Its  
meaning is that they are the ones who levy their yoke  
7 and / their tribute, their 'food', upon all the nations  
8 every year / in order to impoverish many lands. "Therefore  
9 he shall continually draw his sword / to slay nations  
10 unpityingly". / Its meaning concerns the Chittiim who  
11 destroy many with the sword, / strong youths and old men,  
12 women and children; and toward the fruit of / the womb  
13 they show no mercy. "I will stand upon my post / and  
station myself upon my watch-tower; and I will watch  
14 to see what he will say / to me and h(ow he will answer)





15 my complaint. And Yahweh answered me / (and said,  
    'Inscribe the vision and engrave it upon the tablets  
16 that \*(one may read it)\* at a glance'". / .....  
    .....??.....

Column 7

1 And God spoke to Habakkuk to write the things that were  
2 to come upon / upon the last generation; but the one who  
    would bring about the consummation he did not reveal  
3 to him. / And what he said is, "That one may read it at  
4 a glance". / Its meaning concerns the Teacher of  
5 Righteousness to whom God made known / all the secrets  
    of the words of his servants the prophets. "For yet  
6 the vision / is for the appointed hour; it is hastening  
7 towards the consummation and it will not fail". / Its  
    meaning is that the final consummation delays and is  
8 prolonged, according to all / that the prophets spoke;  
9 for the secrets of God are to be inaccessible. / "If  
    it lingers, wait for it; for it will assuredly come  
10 and will not / be late". Its meaning concerns the men  
11 of the truth, / the doers of the law, whose hands do not  
12 slacken from the service of / the truth when for them  
13 the final consummation is delayed; for / all the  
    appointed hours of God shall come at their assigned time



14 according as he decreed / for them in the secrets of  
his wisdom. "Behold puffed up, not made straight,  
15 is / (his soul within him".) Its meaning is that they  
16 double upon them / .....#..??## in their judgement  
.....#...

Column 8

1 Its meaning concerns all the doers of the law in the  
2 house of Judah whom / God will deliver from the house  
3 of judgement because of their labour and their faith / in  
the Teacher of Righteousness. "And also as wealth is  
treacherous, so is an arrogant man, and \*he will\*  
4 not / rest still; his desire he made wide as Sheol,  
5 and he it is that, like Death, is not satisfied; / and  
there are gathered unto him all the nations, and there  
6 are amassed unto him all the peoples. / Shall not they,  
all of them, take up a taunt-song against him, and be  
7 interpreters of riddles to him, / and say, 'Woe unto  
him who has much and it is not his; how long will he  
8 load himself with / heavy debts?'" Its meaning concerns  
9 the Wicked Priest who / was called after the name of the  
10 truth when he first took office, but as he ruled / over  
Israel his heart became proud and he forsook God and  
11 was faithless to the statutes for the sake of / wealth.  
And he robbed and amassed the wealth of the men of violence



12 who had rebelled against God; / and the wealth of the  
peoples he appropriated in order to increase upon himself  
13 the guilt of wrong-doing; and the works of / ab(omin)ations  
he wrought with every impurity of defilement. "Shall  
14 not they suddenly be raised up / and (oppress) thee?  
For thy troublers shall awake and thou shalt become their  
15 prey. / As it is thou who hast plundered many nations,  
so all the remainder of the peoples shall plunder  
16 thee". / (The meaning of the passage con)cerns the priest  
17 who rebelled / ...?.# statutes .....  
### ??...#....

Column 9

1 his smiting in the judgements of wickedness; for the  
2 horrors of \*malignant\* diseases / they effected within  
him, and acts of vengeance upon his body of flesh. And  
3 what / he said is, "As it is thou who hast plundered  
many nations, so all \*the remainder of the peoples\*  
4 shall plunder thee". / Its meaning concerns the \*last\*  
5 priests of Jerusalem / who gather wealth and unjust  
6 gain from the spoil of the peoples. / But in the last  
days their wealth together with their spoil shall be  
7 given into the hand of / the army of the Chittiim, for  
they are the ones who are 'the remainder of the  
8 peoples'. / "Because of men's blood and earth's waste,  
9 that of a city and all its inhabitants". / Its meaning





concerns the (W)icked Priest, whom, for looking enviously  
10 upon the Teacher of / Righteousness and his counsellors,  
God gave into the hand of his enemies in order to humble  
11 him / by disease that he might waste away in bitterness  
12 of soul because he had acted wickedly / against his  
elect. "Woe unto the one who gains an evil gain for his  
13 (h)ouse in order to set / his nest in a high place to  
be safe from the reach of harm. Thou hast planned  
14 shame / for thy house destroying many people(s), while  
15 forfeit(ing) thine own (li)fe. For / a st(one from)  
the wall shall cry out, (and) a cross-beam from the  
16 woodwork shall an(swer it)". / (The meaning of the  
passa)ge concerns the (pries)t who ?.....

Column 10

1 to become its 'stone' through oppression, and its  
'cross-beam of the woodwork' through robbery. And  
2 what / he said is, "Destroying many peoples while  
3 forfeiting thine own life". / Its meaning is it is the  
house of judgement, whose \*judgement\* God will  
4 pronounce / in the midst of 'many peoples'; and thence  
5 will he bring it up for judgement, / and in their midst  
will he condemn it as guilty, and with fire of brimstone  
6 will he punish it. "Woe / unto him who establishes a  
7 city in blood, and founds a town in iniquity. / Behold,  
\*is it not\* from Yahweh of hosts, 'Peoples shall be





8 weary with enough fire, / and nations faint for  
9 nought'?" / The meaning of the passage concerns the  
10 Preacher of the Lie who led many astray / in order to  
    'establish' his 'city' of vanity 'in blood', and to  
11 raise up an assembly in deceit / for the sake of wealth,  
    causing many to be weary with his work of vanity and  
12 causing them to be satiated / with w(or)ks of deceit,  
    their labour being for nought since they will  
13 enter / into judgements of fire because they reviled  
14 and insulted the elect of God. / "For the earth shall  
    be filled with the knowledge of the glory of Yahweh, as  
15 the waters / cover the se(a)". The meaning of the  
16 passage (is that) / when they repent ?.....#  
.....

Column 11

1 the Lie. And afterwards 'the knowledge' shall be  
2 revealed to them as the 'waters' of / 'the sea' for  
    abundance. "Woe unto him who gives drink to his  
3 neighbours, pouring out / his wrath, even making them  
4 drunk, in order to gloat over their festivals". / Its  
5 meaning concerns the Wicked Priest who / persecuted the  
    Teacher of Righteousness in order to swallow him up  
6 greedily in the vexation of / 'his wrath', desiring his  
    exile. And at the time of the 'festival' of the rest



7 of / the Day of Atonement he appeared in splendour to  
8 them in order to swallow them up greedily / and to cause  
them to stumble on the fast day, their sabbath of rest.  
9 "Thou art satiated / more with shame than glory. Drink  
10 thou also and reel; / the cup of the right hand of  
11 Yahweh shall turn upon thee, and shame / shall be upon  
12 thy glory". / Its meaning concerns the priest whose  
13 'shame' prevailed over his 'glory'; / for he did not  
circumcise the foreskin of his heart, and he walked in  
14 the ways of / drunkenness in order to satisfy his thirst.  
15 For the 'cup' of the wrath of / (Go)d will swallow him  
16 to increa(se u)p(on him) his (sh)a(me), and pain / ..#..  
....#.....#.....

Column 12

1 "he shall seize. Because of men's blood and earth's  
2 waste, that of a city and all its inhabitants". / The  
meaning of the passage concerns the Wicked Priest,  
3 recompensing to him / his ill-treatment which he meted  
4 out to the poor, - for 'Lebanon' it is / the council  
of the Community, and the 'cattle' they are the simple  
5 ones of Judah, which is a doer of / the law - whom God  
6 will condemn to utter destruction / inasmuch as he  
plotted to destroy the poor. And what he said is,  
7 "Because of the blood of / a city and earth's waste".  
8 Its meaning is the 'city' it is Jerusalem / in which the



Wicked Priest wrought works of abomination and  
9 defiled / the sanctuary of God; and 'earth's waste'  
10 they are the cities of Judah which / robbed the wealth  
of the poor. "Of what use is an idol when its creator  
11 has carved it - / a molten image and bitterness of  
falsehood? For the creator of its forms relied upon  
12 it / in order to fashion dumb worthless gods". The  
13 meaning of the passage concerns all / the idols of the  
nations which they create that they might worship them  
14 and bow down / to them; but they will not deliver  
15 them on the Day of Judgement. "Woe / w(oe unto him  
who says) to the (wo)od, 'Awake', and to the dumb  
(sto)ne, ('Be astir');"

Column 13

1 "Silence before him, all the earth". Its meaning concerns  
2 all the nations / who worshipped 'stone' and 'wood'.  
3 For on the Day of / Judgement God will destroy all the  
4 worshippers of idols / and the wicked from off the  
earth.

±

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*





Notes

1:1 The fourth and fifth words of Hab. 1:2 are visible here. Hab. 1:1 could just have been written in the missing portion of the line. The alternatives are fourfold:-

- (a) Hab. 1:1 appeared in a preceeding column not now extant, in which case there must have been considerable commentary on the verse, forming a preface to the whole.
- (b) The scroll began with an introduction indicating the nature of the work upon which the author had embarked, followed by Hab. 1:1, with or without commentary.
- (c) The author began his work with a direct quotation of Hab. 1:2. The difficulty here is that according to the MT the first line would comprise but 18 letters, a very short line especially in view of the fact that the scribe has been forced to conclude the line in the margin.
- (d) It is just possible that the space before the beginning of Hab. 1:2 was occupied by a brief title to the whole work.

Including Hab. 1:1 the first line would contain 38 letters, a large number but not impossible





(cf. 5:4 - 36 letters, 8:4 - 36 letters, and 8:10 - 38 letters). This is perhaps the most likely solution.

1:2 There is ample room in the missing portion of this line for the rest of Hab. 1:2, together with some such phrase as פשרו על which usually introduces the commentary upon a passage cited from Habakkuk. Less frequent variations are פשר הדבר על, פשרו אשר, פשרו and פשרו אשר.

1:4 יזעקו... only is visible, and it is tempting to read (with Brownlee<sup>1</sup>) into this an indirect quotation of Hab. 1:2, i.e. יזעקו, they cry. In view of the fragmentary nature of the text this is a precarious, though valid, emendation.

1:5 Three letters only are decipherable here, indicating the possibility of a quotation from Hab. 1:3ab. The letter following the ח is partly visible, and the slope of the visible portion would indicate an ץ rather than a ש. The ש in this column has a steeper slope than the ץ, the ץ being at 45 deg. or less, and the ש greater than 45 deg. Thus the word חעל rather than the MT עחל seems to have been written.

Furthermore, the word עחל would leave a far

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.8.



greater space than is usual before the next word, whereas **ב'בא שגח** fills the lacuna perfectly.

One further piece of evidence is the possible usage of the word in the next line, which Brownlee<sup>1</sup> interprets as **שגח**, from upon, from above, from. But see below for further comment upon this word.

1:6 **שנ** seems to be a complete word as there is no trace of part of a letter in front of it, though this remote possibility of **שנ...** being the end of a word should not be overlooked. **שנ** is the word for 'God' in this document.

**שגחל**. For the translation given **שגחב** would be the correct Hebrew, but a loose syntax would account for the dropping of the **ב**.<sup>2</sup> This makes excellent sense and links up with Hab. 1:3ab cited in the previous line upon which this is the commentary, but the missing portion of the scroll makes any definite translation impossible. The author is very fond of such doubling as this translation would give<sup>3</sup>. Alternatives are **שגח**, and he acts treacherously, and **שגח**, and from.

1:8 There is only one clear word here, the word **ב**,<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p.8. <sup>2</sup> For other examples see footnote 2 on p.37. <sup>3</sup> See note on 3:4.



abundance, or far more likely **ב'ר**, strife, a word that occurs in Hab. 1:3d. It is very probable, therefore, that this passage is a commentary on Hab. 1:3cd, and it is tempting to read **סמח** into the ....**ח**. Actually this is impossible; there must be at least three letters in the lacuna if there is one word here - the end of the last letter can be seen clearly. It is a question as to whether the **י** should be taken with the missing word or with **ב'ר**, though almost certainly it should be with the latter.

Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads a **ח** for the **ח**, a possible reconstruction in view of the lacuna. He then conjectures **סמחח** for the missing word, a perfectly valid interpolation making good sense, but without any textual support whatsoever. In view of the hypothetical nature of the reconstruction it is best not to attempt a translation.

The first word visible has the form of a verb. Two alternatives are possible - **סגח**, abhor, and **סחח**, recompense; both make good sense. The top right-hand point of the letter is visible, and the way the scribe forms his **ח** would suggest that more of a **ח** should be visible. (The vertical stroke

---

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p.9.



is either absolutely vertical or more often slopes downwards to the right.) Thus ץ is preferred in this translation.

1:9 This line is beyond all reconstruction except the last word.

1:10 The four words extant here are clearly the words of Hab. 1:4a.

1:11 Hab. 1:4b is inserted as a conjectural addition. The length of the line would indicate the introduction to the commentary to be (כשר הדבר) אשר, though a space and (כשרו) אשר is a real possibility.

נמשו. Probably a scribal error for נמשו.

1:12 The last half of Hab. 1:4c is clearly cited in this line, and the missing words have been restored from the MT.

1:13 It is very reasonable to suppose that in Hab. 1:4 the commentator found the first specific reference to the Wicked Priest and to the Teacher of Righteousness. The conjectural translation given here is thus a most probable reconstruction. כשרו is preferred to כשרו אשר in view of the length of the reconstructed line, which is as follows:-  
(כשרו רשע הוא הכוהן הרשע והצדיק) הוא צורה הצדק.

1:14 Hab. 1:4d is cited here, the last word of the







quotation being reconstructed from the MT and transposed from the next line. The commentator quotes **הַשֵּׁשֶׁשׁ** as compared with the MT **הַשֵּׁשֶׁ**.

1:15 **שְׁשֵׁר** is suggested as the second and third words of the line. Only one word is distinguishable, **שֵׁשׁ**, and in all probability **שֵׁשֶׁ**.

2:1 The first word is the last word of Hab. 1:5, a verse not quoted elsewhere in the document. This verse was presumably quoted in the missing portion at the bottom of column 1.

The reconstruction of much of column 2 depends upon the width of the column, which is in two parts with a missing strip down the centre. Isaac Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> has noted the determinative lacuna of 2:11 containing a quotation of Hab. 1:6b, through which we are enabled to approximate to the width of the lacunae in other lines. Assigning a value of 1 unit of space to each letter and inter-word space the approximate width of the column is 35 units. The various letters being of different widths the actual number of letters and inter-word spaces in any given line will vary slightly above or below this figure.

The lacuna in 2:1 is about 12 units wide.

---

<sup>1</sup>JBL Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), p. 37.



The first letter after the lacuna has been interpreted by Brownlee<sup>1</sup> as a **ד**, while by Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup> as a **ה**. From the photograph it would seem that the beginning of the horizontal bar of the **ה** should be in evidence, if the letter is a **ה**, and for this reason **ד** is preferred. A closer inspection of the original might clarify this point. Thus a word of 5 or possibly 6 letters could precede **ובוגד'ים** and still leave room for **פשוטו** commencing at the right-hand break in the manuscript.

The use of the word **ובוגד'ים**, apparently referring to the second word of Hab. 1:5, would support the LXX and the Syriac rather than the MT **בגד'ים**.

Two translations, equally valid, are possible for **\*הכזב איש עם\***:- "together with the Man of the Lie", or "people of the Man of the Lie". "Together with" tends to push the Man of the Lie into the literary background, hardly likely as he is the archfiend. "People" gives a much more forceful translation, the emphasis remaining upon the "..... and deceivers" and yet, with equal emphasis, the source of their perfidy is the fact that they are "people of the Man of the Lie".

---

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p.9.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p.33.



2:2 The sense here is clear - the deceivers have disregarded the Teacher of Righteousness - and for that reason a full reconstruction of the line is attempted. The author is commenting upon the nature of the בולגד'ים, the deceivers, who "will not believe when it is declared" (Hab. 1:5d). Thus a valid reconstruction would incorporate the word "believe" (cf. 2:4). As Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> notes, the perfect הִמְחִינֵנּוּ of 2:4 would indicate a perfect also here (in contrast to Brownlee's<sup>2</sup> imperfect).

The lacuna in this line is about 12 units wide. Thus Brownlee's<sup>2</sup> reconstruction (22 units) is far too long, though his sense is good. The suggested line is as follows:- הִכְזֹב כִּי לֹא (הִמְחִינֵנּוּ) The same idiom occurs, Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> points out, in 2 Chr. 35:22 (AV):- "and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God".

2:3 The lacuna is about 10 units wide, once again showing Brownlee's<sup>2</sup> reconstruction (20 units) to be too long. The letters before the lacuna indicate a further commentary here upon the בולגד'ים,

---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.39.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p.9.



the deceivers. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> follows Prof. Millar Burrows' suggestion that "the new one" is the last half of the phrase "the New Covenant" (הברית החדשה), appearing in the fragments of the kindred Zadokite work, CDC. The phrase originates, of course, in Jer. 31:31.

With these two additions the lacuna is adequately filled and the reconstruction would be:- ... הַבּוֹלָגִים (בְּרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה) ...

2:4 The lacuna here measures about 7 units, just room for a verb which must clearly precede the אֵל at the beginning of the second half of the line. Rabinowitz's<sup>2</sup> suggestion of וַיִּהְיוּ is accepted here as giving an excellent sense to this passage.

The second part of the line is badly mutilated and almost indecipherable. The word אֵל is clear, and at the end וַד(1), though Brownlee<sup>3</sup> reads וַד(1) (...). The ו is scarcely possible, however, and the ו (or ' ) would appear to be associated with וַד. The tip of a fifth letter is just visible close to the ו, and all the indications are that we have the closing letters of a longer word. A ו is partly visible

---

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p.16, note 16.  
<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p.9.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p.40.







after the  $\Lambda\Lambda$  and following that the end of a letter well below the line. There is no room for a  $\kappa$  so it must be a final letter, and  $\square$  is the only one that could be inserted and make a word fitting into the context.  $\Lambda\Lambda$  indicates a direct object, so  $\text{וְדָשׁ}$  must have a pronominal suffix as an ending. Taking all this evidence into consideration  $\text{וְדָשׁ שֶׁם} \Lambda\Lambda$  is the only possible reconstruction. On the suggestion of Prof. Sukenik, Brownlee<sup>1</sup> later confirms this reading, and further suggests a form of  $\text{הָלָל}$  to precede it.

2:5 The word  $\text{וְכִן}$  presents many difficulties. Is it to be taken with  $\text{וְדָשׁ}$  or  $\text{כִּשְׁר}$ ? Brownlee<sup>2</sup> suggests the former and translates "and upright". However in his later corrections<sup>1</sup> he indicates that it cannot be made to follow, "and therefore must begin a new sentence". Rabinowitz<sup>3</sup> follows up this idea translating, "And similarly,". In support of this interpretation it should be noted that the scribe could have inserted  $\text{וְכִן}$  at the end of the previous line. If this interpretation is accepted the point at issue immediately becomes the space between  $\text{וְכִן}$  and  $\text{כִּשְׁר}$ . If the scribe

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.15.

<sup>2</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.8.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p.41.



intended to link the two words why did he leave such a space? To solve this problem Brownlee<sup>1</sup> is forced to postulate an error on the part of the scribe, and says, "If we ignore the paragraphing in 2:5, the right half of the column would read: 'And so the meaning of the passage is'".

It seems clear that, as no quotation from Habakkuk can be discerned in 2:4, the scribe is introducing further interpretative material upon Hab. 1:5, and in accordance with his practice he leaves a space before כֶּשֶׁר (cf. 4:1 for a space of similar width). The scribe therefore clearly expects his readers to take וְכֵן with קוֹדֶשׁוֹ, however וְכֵן is to be interpreted. The most satisfying solution to the whole problem seems to be to take כֵּן as an adjective derived from כִּיָּן and translate literally, ".... the name of his holiness and (it is) one which is upright", thus getting the translation given here.

The lacuna is 7 units wide. Thus there is just room for מֶשֶׁר הַבּוֹ (8 units) which restores the line with great certainty. מֶשֶׁר is to be preferred to מֶשֶׁר in view of the context.

---

<sup>1</sup>BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.15.



2:6 The lacuna again is 7 units wide. In the third word ... ערי is visible, and the next letter could easily be ז (not final). Thus the word is a form of עריצים, terrible or violent ones. The preceding word הנה indicates this to be masc. pl. The last word of the lacuna ends in ו..., so it is almost certain that we have here two words only, the first in construct to the second. Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> points out the occurrence of the expression עריצי גוים in Ez. 28:7, 30:11, 31:12, 32:12, and he suggests the synonym עריצי האומות. This fits the lacuna and the context admirably and is accepted here. An alternative suggestion is a form of ערוצים, past participle of ערץ, indicating that the deceivers they will be the ones who are terrified. However this must be ruled out on contextual grounds.

2:7 Both Brownlee<sup>2</sup> and Rabinowitz<sup>3</sup> interpret בשומעים as a construct infinitive with 3rd pl. masc. suffix, i.e. "when they hear". However the position of the ם makes this impossible. It can only be an active participle Qal, masc. pl., with scriptio plena, of שמע.

---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.41.  
<sup>3</sup>op. cit., p.34.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948) ., p.10.



The lacuna is about 6 units wide. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads the first letter as ך, impossible owing to the fact that the vertical line is broken and also the thickness of the lowest point of the letter. It can only be an ן. Following Rabinowitz's<sup>2</sup> reconstruction there is just room for the phrase כול הבטוח על, which appears later in 2:10. This gives excellent sense. Further evidence for this reconstruction can be seen at the end of the lacuna where the tip of a ש is visible just below the line above, which Brownlee<sup>1</sup> has evidently missed in his lengthy reconstruction.

2:8 Brownlee's<sup>3</sup> reading of שׁ as "unto" is unlikely, as it leaves נא without an adequate subject. It is more natural to take שׁ (= God) as the subject of the verb, as שׁ ספר in 2:9.

The lacuna again is 5 or 6 units wide. The word שׁפּטׁ indicates that God gave the priest some mental gift to enable him to interpret the words of the prophets. חכמה<sup>2</sup> Rabinowitz feels to be the most suggestive word, especially in view of the ה at the end of the lacuna, and this led him to בלבו at the beginning of the lacuna, the heart being the seat of wisdom. The entire expression,

---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.9.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p.42.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., p.10.







as reconstructed, is to be found in Ex. 36:2 and 1 Kgs. 10:24 (= 2 Chr. 9:23). Thus this makes an excellent reconstruction. Stern<sup>1</sup> has another suggestion to offer, i.e. **אשר נתן אל במוך העדה** (whom God set in the midst of the assembly ...), which also fulfils all the requirements and gives good sense.

**לפשו** is an infinitive construct from **פטר**, a verb which does not occur in Hebrew. Perhaps it is an Aramaic loan word, declined according to Hebrew inflexion.

Parts of two letters are visible between the last two clear words of the line; these logically and according to the portions visible can be reconstructed as the sign of the direct accusative, **אל**.

2:9 **אשר בידם** is quite sufficient to restore the line, the lacuna again being 5 or 6 units wide.

The commentary still concerns Hab. 1:5 and the author here uses the same verb **ספר**, declare, with which Hab. 1:5 closes. The thought is clearly of the unbelief of the deceivers, foretold by Habakkuk, in the final declaration now proclaimed.

2:10 **הבטוח**. Cf. Is. 41:22, where the word is again to be found.

---

<sup>1</sup> JBL Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), p.26.



The lacuna is about 6 units wide and Rabinowitz's<sup>1</sup> reconstruction, as he admits, tends to crowd the available space. He suggests **וְעַל הַמִּצְוֹת** or **וְעַל הַגְּמוּלָּה**. From the MT the last letter of the lacuna must be **כ**, so his reconstruction would require a lacuna at least 11 units wide. **ע** could be omitted, according to the author's usage of prepositions<sup>2</sup>, but the next letter could not possibly be read as a **ה**; the horizontal bar would surely be visible. Furthermore the sense of the reconstruction is not good. God is concerned with the things to come upon his people, and not upon the other nations which are pawns to be used and discarded at will. The utmost that can be said here is that the lacuna (beginning with **ו**) contains one word only (because of the space involved), and that the lacuna is unreconstructable.

The second half of the line commences a quotation of Hab. 1:6ab, which is completed in the  
2:11 next line, one which can be reconstructed from the MT as **הַיָּם וְהַנְּחָר**. For the value of this line in a reconstruction of the rest of the column, see note on 2:1.

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.42f.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. **וְעַל** **בְּעֶשֶׂק וְחַיִּים**, 1:6, **וּבְמַלְכֵי** **וּשְׂרָיִם**, 3:5, **וּבְנֹכַח וּמִרְמָה**, 4:2f, and **וּבְמִנְה וּפְחָד**, 4:7, et al.



- 2:12 The lacuna is about 6 units wide. The  $\aleph$  is very probably the first letter of  $\aleph\text{ש}$  (cf. 3:4,9). Rabinowitz's<sup>1</sup> suggestion of  $\aleph\text{מה}$  for the next word (cf. 2:6) fits admirably into both the lacuna and the sense.
- 2:13 The lacuna is about 10 or 11 units wide.  $\text{רבים}$  seems to be the word immediately preceding the lacuna. It is impossible to reconstruct this line with any degree of certainty. Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup> suggests  $\text{כי ילחמו}$ , "should they war against", as the most likely reconstruction, but his argument is tenuous and it is wisest to leave the lacuna unfilled.
- 2:14 The bottom of the scroll is badly mutilated, and no attempt is made to reconstruct the last few lines. The word before the lacuna almost certainly begins with ...  $\text{ורש}$ , which could very well be a derivative of  $\text{רשע}$ , be wicked, but that is all that can be said. Rabinowitz<sup>3</sup> goes to great pains to secure the reconstruction  $\text{ורשעים הם לבטוח בשקר}$ , "and they are wicked so as to trust in falsehood", but this is very highly conjectural. It does not give a smooth translation and, moreover, the last letter could not possibly be construed as a  $\text{ר}$ , it must be  $\text{ח}$  or  $\text{א}$ .

---

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p.43f.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p.44.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p.44f.



- 2:15 The first word is clearly **בְּחִיקִי**, in the statutes of, and presumably **לַיהוָה**, God. The tip of the **ש** can just be seen reaching up into the line above.
- 2:16 The first two letters can only be ... **וּל**, the only letters visible on the line.
- 3:1 Note should be made that Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> indicates that **מִישׁוֹר** can also mean level country or a level place. He feels that the author is interpreting here the "great tracts of land" (**מִרְחֲבֵי אֶרֶץ**) of Hab. 1:6, and thus translates, "and over easy terrain they go to crush...", etc. In view of the fact that the previous lines are missing it is impossible to determine the correct connotation of the word with any certainty. It is very questionable, however, whether the "great tracts of land" could be considered "easy terrain".
- 3:2 The phrase **כִּי־יֵהְיוּ אֲשֶׁר אֶחָד** is very difficult, and an attempt has been made to be faithful to the Hebrew and yet preserve reasonable sense. The phrase always introduces a previously cited passage and further exegesis may follow (as in 5:6). The "he" seems to refer to Habakkuk. The authority for this document lies in the prophet and the author is emphasising that the ideas

---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.45.







contained in the scroll are not his own private speculations; they were all foretold by Habakkuk, who as a prophet was the mouthpiece of God.

"For he it is who said ..."

Other suggestions are:- Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup>, "For that is that which it (i.e. Scripture) said". Brownlee<sup>2</sup>, "For it is He who says", presumably God (thus opening up the possibility of the sect's belief in the verbal inspiration of Habakkuk).

3:3 The word **לנשי** may be derived either from **לנש**, destruction (as Brownlee<sup>3</sup>), or from **לנש**, majesty, dignity, (as Rabinowitz<sup>4</sup>). The latter is the Massoretic pointing. In view of the context destruction could well proceed from the Chaldeans, but hardly justice. Thus **לנשי** must be construed go out from him, i.e. depart from or leave him. **לנשי** and **לנשי** are therefore clearly alien virtues to the Chaldeans; they have "gone out" from the Chaldean list of virtues; they pay no respect to these things. "Dignity" or "honour" would thus suit this meaning

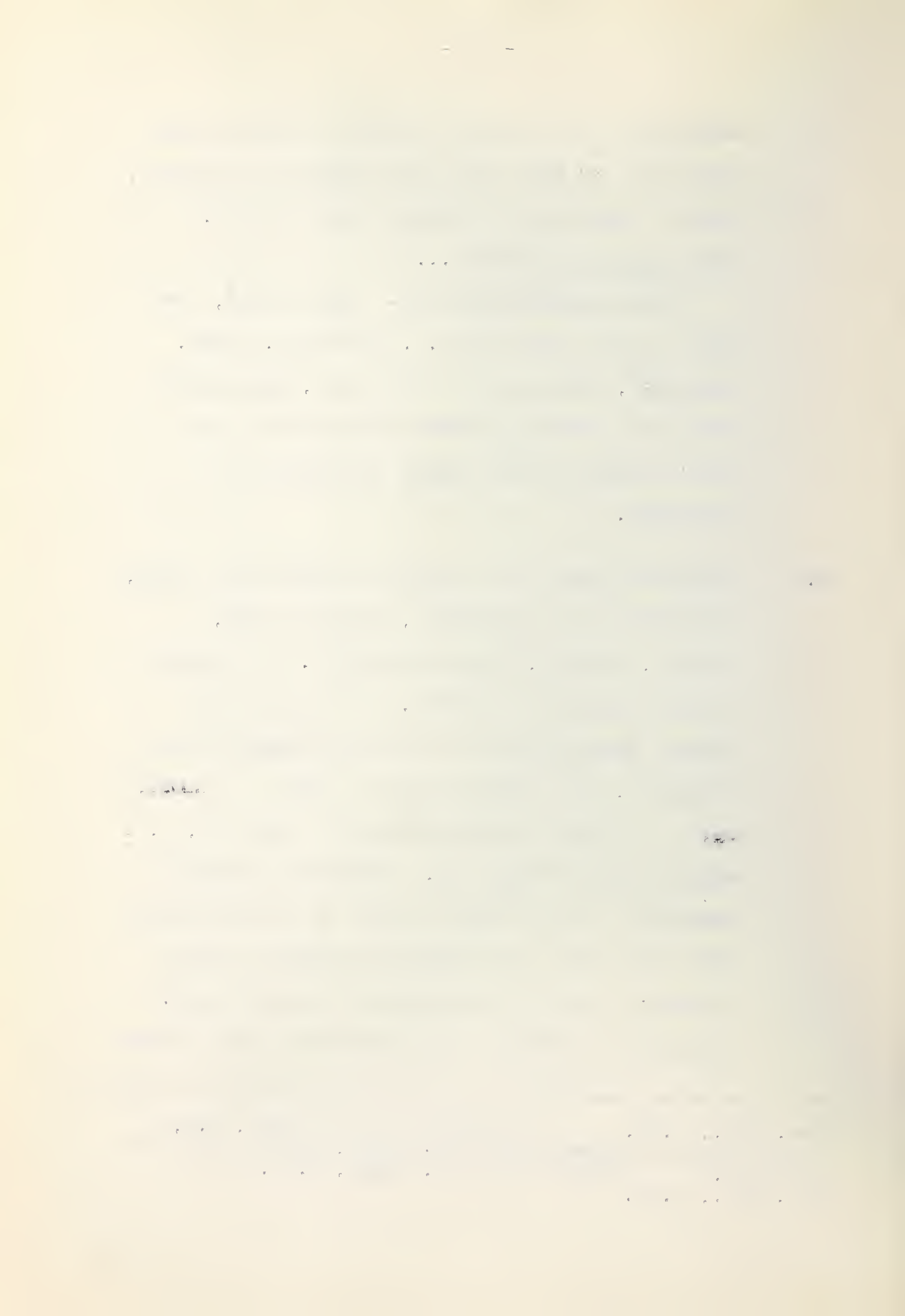
---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p.45.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.9, a correction to his previous translation, "For this is what it says".

<sup>3</sup>BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.10.

<sup>4</sup>op. cit., p.47.



far better - the justice and honour which are his leave him. These concepts are foreign to the Chaldeans in their oppression. They are equally foreign to the Chittim, the author goes on to say in his interpretation of the passage.

3:4 The sense of the word in the lacuna is clear beyond any doubt from the context. It is a noun with a 3rd pl. suffix - parts of the letter before the inserted □ are visible and it can only be a א, the dot at the bottom left-hand corner of the letter indicating this conclusively. The first letter, therefore, can only be the conjunction ו. There is only room for one more letter, the two bottom points of which can just be seen. Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> reconstructs □אנ'ו, impossible as there is no room for the 'נ, and moreover part of the ' would be visible. However, the problem is solved adequately if the word is written scriptio defectiva, i.e. □אנ'ו. The author uses exactly this word in the very same form in 4:7.

Some other reconstruction (such as □אנ'ו, and their venom or fury, a word used in 3:12) could be suggested, but typical of the author's

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.47.



style is such doubling as has been reconstructed here<sup>1</sup>, and therefore **וּמַמְאִם** is much to be preferred.

3:5 **וּבִנְכָל** is read into the lacuna. **כַּל..ו** is visible, and part of the **ב** and **נ**.

3:6 The beginning of the quotation from Hab. 1:8 here differs at two points from the MT. **וּקוֹל** is very probably a scribal error for the MT **וּקְלָל** (so Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup>). **וּסוֹס** is written for **וּסוֹסִי**. The scribe clearly writes both **ו** and **ו'** for the 3rd sing. masc. suffix to a plural noun<sup>3</sup>.

3:7 This line makes an interesting comparison with the MT. **יְבִ'מוּ** is not present (omitted also in the LXX), and **וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ** can be contrasted profitably with the MT **וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ**. Scholars would omit the **וּפְרָשׁוּ** of the MT as a dittography<sup>4</sup>, but this scroll throws new light on the passage, retaining all three words. The first two words are interpreted as verbs, while the third is the common subject (**פְרָשׁ** is very probably the verb

<sup>1</sup>E.g. 1:6; 3:12,13; 4:7; 7:7; 9:6, et al.

<sup>2</sup>op.cit., p.47. <sup>3</sup>e.g. **וּמַמְאִם** (5:5) and **וּמַלְא** (8:5), and contrast **וּמַמְאִם** (2:9; 7:5) and **וּמַמְאִם** (8:6; 8:12).

<sup>4</sup>See ICC on Habakkuk.



used, rather than *שׁוּב*). This agrees well with the LXX *καὶ ἐξοπηάσονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀργήσουσιν μακρόθεν.*

3:8 The first word can be read as either *יְעוּפִי* (as the MT) or *יִפְּוּי*. The difference in the sense of the translation is immaterial, but *יִפְּוּי* is preferred, in agreement with the LXX *καὶ πετασθήσονται.*

3:9 The MT *כְּנִיָּהִם* is split in this scroll, which reads *הֵם כְּנִי, הֵם* referring to *כְּנִי* (written for *כְּנִי<sup>1</sup>*). This corrects the odd change of the MT from singular to plural, *יְבוּ... כֹּהֵל* to *כְּנִיָּהִם*, and then back to the singular *וְיִסְחָף*.

*קְדִיָּה* (MT *קְדִיָּה*) is very difficult to interpret. It is derived from *קָדַם*, be before, come before. With his back to the sea 'forwards' for the Hebrew would be 'eastwards', and the word is used in this sense throughout the Old Testament. Sometimes it indicates the east wind. *קְדִיָּה* (without the *י* locale) is used in the sense of 'eastwards' in Ez. 43:17; 46:1,12; 47:1,3. G. A. Smith<sup>2</sup> prefers 'forward' in his translation, but he notes his unique use of the word there. The text of Habakkuk, of course, may be corrupt at this point, as many scholars suggest (e.g. Wellhausen, Nowack, Davidson,

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on 3:6 for this form. <sup>2</sup> The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Vol.II, The Expositor's Bible: p.135, footnote 3.







etc.), and ICC gives it up as untranslatable. However in this document the commentator is deeply concerned with the Chittiim and it is clear that he at least is reading 'eastward' here. They come from the coastlands of the sea (3:11), i.e. they press towards the east. Thus in this manuscript we must read 'eastward' as the author also has evidently done.

The short lacuna in this line clearly contains the word פשרו.

3:10 בַּסּוֹסִים fills the lacuna perfectly. סוס is not a collective noun, while בַּהֲמָה can be; hence the plural of סוס is necessary, while בַּהֲמָה remains in its singular form.

3:11 There is just room for אֵל in the lacuna, thus making the almost certain reconstruction אֵל כּוֹלֵל אֵל כּוֹלֵל.

3:12 It has been noted<sup>1</sup> that a doubling, or parallelism, is typical of the author's style. From an argument based upon this Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup> reconstructs וּבַחֲמָה יִכְעַס וּבַחֲרָן אֵף, in agreement with Brownlee<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on 3:4.

<sup>2</sup> op.cit., p.48.

<sup>3</sup> op.cit., p.10.



However, for the last word Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads יזער for וזער, which must be incorrect. The subject of this section of the interpretation of Habakkuk is the Chittiim, and Brownlee goes from the 3rd pl. to the 3rd sing. in reading יזער. Furthermore, to be consistent, he is forced to read ודבר (or ודבר) as a 3rd sing., an impossible reading.

3:13 The first word of the lacuna can be deciphered with great certainty as כול, and the last one is clearly כ'נ, commencing the formula כ'נ הוה אשר מנח.

Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup> ingeniously suggests בני קדם (orientals) for the remainder of the lacuna, as providing a suitable object for the preceding verb and also referring back to the quotation from Habakkuk cited earlier. However, his parallels between the quotation and the interpretation are highly questionable, and do not necessarily follow. Going from the interpretation to the quotation Rabinowitz<sup>2</sup> translates זגה כ'נ as "the abundance of My wrath", hardly possible as the wrath of God and that of the Chittiim can hardly be identified. Moreover 'face' rather than 'wrath' is the normal

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.10.

<sup>2</sup>op.cit., p.49.



interpretation of פנים and also of the LXX equivalent προσηγορία. A simpler and more satisfactory reconstruction would be כול העמים (as in 3:11) or perhaps כול הגוים (as in 3:4,4a).

3:14 The reconstructed line is as follows:-

מחר נג (נג כנו הם קדים וימסוך כח) שבי

A requotation clearly follows the introductory formula; this is taken from 3:8,9. Hab. 1:9c (taken from the MT) evidently follows, judging by the שבי... which is visible at the end of the line. This fills the lacuna exactly.

3:15 The top half of a נ is visible and also a mere fraction of the next letter. In keeping with the scroll one can conjecture נשר.

4:1 This is clearly a quotation of Hab. 1:10ab, the scribe evidently beginning it at the bottom of the previous column, not now extant. Accordingly it has here been restored from the MT and included in the translation for the sake of clarity.

ינקס replaces the MT ינקס (a Hithpael).

It is interpreted here as a Piel imperfect.

4:3 Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads בנכים\* ישרים, but corrects this later<sup>2</sup> to בנכים\* ושרים (as also Stern<sup>3</sup>), which

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.11.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.16.

<sup>3</sup>JBL Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), p.27.



must be the correct rendering in view of Hab. 1:10ab upon which the author is commenting.

בָּרַעַם נַחֲשִׁים may be interpreted as "a great nation" or "a numerous people". Brownlee<sup>1</sup> prefers the latter, which is rather an anticlimax. One expects a grand climax to the great, the esteemed, kings, princes, .... "A mighty nation" concludes this list far more effectively from a literary point of view.

4:4 Hab. 1:10 is completed. The last word, difficult to be sure of, may be reconstructed from the MT, i.e. to וְלִכְדָּהוּ, thus supporting Kittel's<sup>2</sup> suggested emendation of the MT.

4:7 וּבְמִצְרָיִם וּפְרָד; cf. 3:4.

4:8 בְּעִוְיוֹן; literally "with iniquity". This probably refers to atrocities committed against those who dwell in the fortresses. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads בְּעִיָּין here and translates "reduce to ruins". This is less likely in view of the fact that the object is not the fortresses, but the people dwelling in them.

4:9 כִּי is without a definite article or pronominal suffix and is thus strictly "purpose" or "wind", but

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.11.  
footnote b to Hab. 1:10.

<sup>2</sup> Biblia Hebraica, p.947,





Hab. 1:11 is difficult and has probably suffered much in transcription (see ICC on the difficulties of this verse, but his ingenious reconstruction has no textual support and his translation is rather inconsequential, bearing little relation to the context).

וְשׁוֹשׁ replaces the MT וְשׁוֹשׁ, and is derived from שׁוֹשׁ, be desolate.

4:10 The lacuna clearly contained the letters פִּשְׁרוֹ, and the next word (the second letter barely visible) must be מוֹשֵׁל.

4:11 For the word at the beginning of the lacuna Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads מְשִׁמָּה which is not definite as is his translation. Another letter or letters must follow the מ as it is not final and, judging by the width of the lacuna, there are two missing letters. מְשִׁמָּה is therefore the most likely reconstruction and this makes the phrase definite.

4:12 This whole passage is very difficult, but seems to refer to the liquidation of the local leadership (they "remove a man from before his compatriots"). The ... מוֹשֵׁל before the lacuna presents a real problem, and Brownlee<sup>2</sup> concludes, "How to construe (?...) מוֹשֵׁל is an enigma". Stern<sup>3</sup> suggests, "They

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.17, note 31.  
<sup>3</sup> op.cit., p.27.

<sup>2</sup> op.cit., p.17, note 32.



remove one in order to make place for another", but he ignores the following word which he evidently cannot fit in to his translation. Segal<sup>1</sup> would reconstruct *חושלים זה* and translate, "rulers come one after the other". However this again is improbable as the lacuna is too wide; there would have to be an abnormal space between the two words.

The lacuna is 5 units wide and concludes with a *ה*, and the only solution seems to be to read such a phrase as *חושלים בהמה*, referring back to the Chittiim. Thus the Chittiim removed the leader from his fellow men "as ones having dominion over them", or "being rulers over them". Perhaps with this reconstruction the top right-hand corner of the final *□* should be visible, but the scribe often leaves such a space before this letter that here it would not be visible (e.g. 3:13, 4:2,8, etc.).

4:13 The lacuna commences with a clear *נ*, is about 11 units wide, and concludes with the requotation of Hab. 1:11b. Brownlee<sup>2</sup> suggests 'peoples' for the first word, and this fits the sense and the space available admirably. The last part of the lacuna is reconstructed from 4:9, making the full

---

<sup>1</sup>JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), p.134, note 12.

<sup>2</sup>op.cit., p.11.



reconstruction **הַמִּזְמוֹת וְשֵׁם זֶה**.

4:14 A **ז** is visible at the end of the lacuna, which Brownlee<sup>1</sup> feels to be the last letter of **כֹּחַ**.

4:15 One **ז** is visible at the end of the line.

5:1 The quotation here begins with the second word of Hab. 1:12c. Presumably the first part of Hab. 1:12 was quoted at the bottom of the previous column, and "O Yahweh" has been inserted here (from the MT) to complete the sentence. Probably the interrogative at the beginning of the verse should also be taken with Hab. 1:12cd<sup>2</sup>.

In Hab. 1:12d the MT **לְהוֹכִיחַ** has been replaced by **לְמוֹכִיחוֹ**. This word is a direct parallel of **לְחַשְׁפֵּט** in Hab. 1:12c and so "reprover" or "judge" is better than Brownlee's<sup>1</sup> "chastising". Furthermore "chastising" would be an infinitive construct form rather than a participle, as in the manuscript.

5:2 The quotation of Hab. 1:13ab is concluded with very slight variations from the MT.

5:4 **בְּחֹרוֹ**, probably for **בְּחֹרִיו**<sup>3</sup>. Cf. the plural form of the word in 10:13 (**בְּחֹרֵי אֵל**).

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.11.  
Commentary: Habakkuk;

<sup>2</sup>Suggested by A. R. Gordon (Peake's p.566).

<sup>3</sup>See note on 3:6.



5:5      **וְשָׂרִי צַדִּיק**: strictly "the wicked of his people".

5:7      In this document the word **קץ** has very definite eschatological associations. Brownlee's<sup>1</sup> original translation ("to the doom of wickedness") does not bring this out clearly. In his later corrections<sup>2</sup> he notes the implications of the word here and feels it advantageous to coin a new word to convey better the full meaning of the Hebrew. He suggests "end-time" or "goal-time", both clumsy phrases. The modern religious connotation of the word "consummation" brings out far better from a literary and a linguistic point of view the full content of the Hebrew **קץ** as it is used in this scroll.

Perhaps, however, in this particular passage **קץ** should be translated by "period" (cf. CDC 8:9; 15:4; 19:7, etc.), i.e. referring to the pre-Messianic period which intensifies in its wickedness as it approaches its climax.

5:8      This line contains the word **וְאַתָּה** (a 2nd person plural), in contrast to the MT **וְאַתָּה**, and yet retains the singular form **וְאַתָּה** two words later. Habakkuk is here addressing Yahweh, but the commentator (cf. 5:9,10) is clearly concerned with the silence of "the house of Absalom and their

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.11.

<sup>2</sup> BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.14f.





counsellors". Thus, with this thought uppermost in his mind, the commentator in all probability misquoted the original **אֲבִיָּא** and wrote down **אֲבִיָּא**.

5:10 "Their counsellors": strictly "the men of their counsel" (**אֲנָשֵׁי אֲמָרָם**).

"The rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness" is an ambiguous phrase. It is very possible to interpret the rebuke as one administered by him to the house of Absalom, but more in keeping with the context and the picture of the Teacher of Righteousness as a persecuted and unheeded man the rebuke is suffered by him. The house of Absalom being singled out for specific mention, it was probably a leading house at one time favourably disposed towards his teaching and in a position to give him substantial help. Now, in a time of crisis, when the Teacher of Righteousness suffers a rebuke, the house of Absalom withdraws its support and gives him no assistance against the Man of the Lie. It has been silenced by this sudden reverse in his career<sup>1</sup>.

5:12 Brownlee<sup>2</sup> reconstructs the lacuna as **עַמִּים**, "among all peoples". This is impossible due to the width of the lacuna; the **ו** would have to be

---

<sup>1</sup>See Freedman, BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.11.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.11.



abnormally wide in order not to leave a space in the middle of the word. Furthermore, two points of the last letter of the lacuna are just visible and these would indicate the probability of a א rather than a ׳. The clues suggest that we have here a 3rd plural masc. suffix, rather than a masc. plural. Now the subject of this relative clause is singular ("the Man of the Lie who rejected (סחם)"), and so this word cannot refer back to the subject; it must therefore refer to "the house of Absalom and their counsellors". The word עדה fits this context admirably, and the suggested reconstruction, filling the lacuna perfectly, is בגוך כול עדם, in the midst of their whole assembly. If this is correct then there seems to be a direct connection between the Man of the Lie and the house of Absalom, the Man of the Lie perhaps being a reprobate member of that house.

The line concludes with the beginning of a long quotation from Habakkuk, commencing with Hab. 1:14.

5:13 This scroll has לחשל where the MT reads לח-חשל.

The lacuna is reconstructed from the MT as כולו בחכה, ... כול being beyond doubt from the scroll. For the form כולו cf. 3:8.

5:14) The lacuna of 5:14 is 16 or 17 units wide. The  
5:15)  
5:16) words at the close of the line present a real problem. לחרמו does not occur in Hab. 1:15cd



which the author is quoting (cf. the first and last three words of the line), but does occur in Hab. 1:16a. Furthermore, 5:15 must begin with the last word of Hab. 1:15d to conclude the quotation of that verse (the **ס** is just visible), and the last word of the line is the last word of Hab. 1:16c. 5:15 therefore contains a quotation of Hab. 1:16bc, i.e. there is no room for Hab. 1:16a, the lacuna being about 31 units wide. 5:16 must commence with Hab. 1:16d.

Further complications are caused by the correct quotation of Hab. 1:16ab in 6:2,3. The problem can only be solved by assuming that Hab. 1:16a has been inserted by mistake between Hab. 1:15c and d, and omitted in its correct position. The error of the scribe presumably stemmed from the two phrases commencing with **על כן** (Hab. 1:15d and 1:16a). This reconstruction fills in the lacuna perfectly.

5:14,15,16 are accordingly reconstructed as follows (based on the MT and the requotation of Hab. 1:16 in 6:2,3 and 5):- **ויספרו במחמרתו על כן יזבח לחרמו על כן ישמח/ויגיל ויקטר למחמרתו כיא בהם שמח חלקו/ומחכלו ברי .....**

6:8 There is an interesting variation from the MT here. **חרבו** is read in the scroll for the MT **חרמו**, an emendation suggested by Giesebrecht and Wellhausen, following the Coptic and one manuscript of the LXX<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>See ICC.





חַרְבּוֹ is clearly a better reading for the climax of Habakkuk's complaint.

Further, חַיִּיד clearly goes with Hab. 1:17a in this scroll (contrast חַיִּיד in the MT, LXX and the Targum). Thus DSH agrees here with the Syriac, giving a better, more balanced line.

Also there is no interrogative prefix in this scroll as in the MT.

6:9 וְלֹא יַחֲמֵל: literally "and he will not have pity"; hence "unpityingly".

6:13 מִצּוֹר is to be found in the scroll in contrast to the MT מִצּוֹר. The parallelism is slightly improved by this reading.

6:14 The text of the lacuna is reconstructed conjecturally, following an emended MT, as follows:- בִּי וְיָמָה יִשְׁבֵּב עַל אֲוִכְחָתִי. The MT and LXX both read מִשְׁבֵּב, but Kittel, Wellhausen, Oort and other scholars suggest יִשְׁבֵּב, a reading to be found in the Syriac, and one which the parallelism would require. The sense of the MT would indicate that the prophet wonders what he will answer when he is reproved (by the people), "What I shall answer to my reproof". The Syriac reading, however, gives far better sense to the whole verse, besides restoring a direct parallelism, and is thus followed here.

6:15) The author concludes Hab. 2:2 and the reconstruction  
6:16)



(from the MT and 7:3) is as follows:- וַיֹּאמֶר כְּתוּב  
..... חֲזוֹן וּבֹאֵר עַל הַלְלוּתָא לְמַעַן יֵרוּץ/הַקּוֹרֵא בּוֹ

12..... לְמַעַן: literally "in order that  
he may run the reader in it". This is a figurative  
expression indicating that even one passing at  
the run must be able to read this inscription.  
Hence, "that one may read it at a glance", (as  
Moffatt translates it).

7:2 The first word is clearly a dittography.

לְמַעַן הַקֵּץ: literally "the accomplisher of  
the end". The reference is to the one whose  
coming indicates the consummation of history.

לֹא הוֹדִיעַ: literally "he did not cause  
him to know".

7:6 יִפְּחַח is a Hiphil form of פָּחַח, breathe or blow.  
The sense of hurrying is implicit here. There  
is a high sense of urgency. The climax or  
consummation of all things is rushing upon them;  
its coming is inexorable - there is no escape.

7:8 To be inaccessible: לְהִפָּלֵחַ. The root meaning  
of the Niphal is "be separated, distinct". That  
which is marvellous is "separated" and Brownlee<sup>1</sup>  
follows this sense in his translation. However,  
that which is remote or inaccessible is also

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.12.



"separated" and this meaning of the word fits the context even better. The appointed hour of the consummation of all things is known by no-one; it is one of God's inaccessible secrets.

7:9 In the quotation of Hab. 2:3d this scroll has *וְסִי* in contrast to the MT which omits the conjunction. In this reading DSH supports the LXX, Syriac, Jerome's version, the Targum, the Arabic version and 40 manuscripts collated by Kennicott and J. B. de Rossi.

7:13 *וְסִי* is construed as the construct plural of *קָדַשׁ* (with scriptio plena), with Stern<sup>1</sup> (in essence) and Brownlee<sup>2</sup> in his later corrections. The implication of this line seems to be a concept of different phases of God's plan for his people, each one concluding with a *קָדַשׁ*, an appointed hour. The translation "consummation" is reserved for the occasions when *קָדַשׁ* almost certainly refers to the ultimate climax of history, the final consummation.

Brownlee's<sup>2</sup> interpretation of *וְסִי* in his later corrections (agreed upon by Millar Burrows, W. F. Albright and W. F. Stinespring) is adopted here. He says, "But the word tkwn (pronounced tikkûn) appears several times in the Manual of

---

<sup>1</sup>JBL Vol.LXIX, Part.I (March 1950), p.27.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.15.



Discipline (the so-called Sectarian Document) as an unmistakable noun meaning an assigned place, position, or time. We could reasonably assume it would be used similarly here."

- 7:14 **עֲרֻמָּה** is derived from the root **עֲרַם**, be shrewd, crafty in either a bad or a good sense. Here, referring to God, it must mean prudence, sagacity, shrewdness or wisdom.

Hab. 2:4a is quoted and the word **יֹשֶׁרָה** is found in place of the MT **יִשְׁרָה**. This is interpreted as a Pual, as **עוֹפֵלָה**.

- 7:15 The MT **וְנִפְשׁוּ בּוֹ** is read into the lacuna at the beginning of the line, thus reconstructing it completely.

- 7:16 This line is too fragmentary to reconstruct. Several letters are visible but the only certain word is **בְּחִשְׁפָּטָם**.

- 8:1 Presumably the immediately preceding quotation cited in the missing portion of Col. 7 is Hab. 2:4b, (but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness - **וְצַדִּיק בְּאֱמוּנָתוֹ יַחְיֶה**).

- 8:2 The word **אֱמוּנָה**, translated faith, carries with it the sense of steadfastness, steadiness, fidelity - almost the qualities necessary to a 'covenant', which could





all but be the translation of this word.

8:3     הון may be contrasted with the MT היין, wine; the figure is different, but the thought is the same. Both wine and riches go to the head, creating an insatiable desire for more.

8:4     שונש is probably a scribal error for שונש (cf. the MT).

8:7     Literally, "How long will he make heavy (Hiphil) upon himself ...". The MT reads ... עשן ומכבד עשן. This scroll thus clarifies the MT considerably.

עשן goes with the following word which is an imperfect Hiphil, instead of a participle preceded by the conjunction. The author was evidently familiar with the reading עשן<sup>1</sup>. The LXX reads τον κλοιον αὐτου and Oort would emend to עשן. However the scribe would have written this עשן.

8:9     "Called after the name of the truth", or "reckoned as belonging to the truth" - the same construction as in Gen. 48:6.

"When he first took office": literally, "in the beginning of his standing".

8:10    ... ב טיגב'ו, "deal treacherously towards", hence, "be faithless to".

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on 3:6 for עשן written for עשן.



8:11 Violence: the **ח** is only partially visible, but it seems clear that **חַנַּס** was the word originally written.

8:13 **חַנַּס** is read into the first lacuna (with Brownlee<sup>1</sup>). The stroke visible could just be part of the **ע**.

The second lacuna is more difficult. There is room for one and possibly two letters in the lacuna. Two points of the first letter are clearly visible; their nature and relative position would indicate an **נ** almost beyond doubt. **כַּחַסְנִים**, or possibly **כַּחַסְנִים**, is suggested as the reconstruction<sup>2</sup>.

8:14 Based on the root **נִשַּׁךְ**, as in the MT, **וְנִשְׁכֹּךְ** is read as the first word. The root **נִשַּׁךְ** means "bite", and the oppression is especially oppression with usury (hence Brownlee's<sup>1</sup> translation, "and exact from thee"). The one who has loaded himself with heavy debts is unexpectedly called upon to pay them - with interest.

**וְהִיא** in its strict form (3rd sing. fem.) does not make sense here. It is therefore construed as **וְהִיא**, written defectively, and **וְהִיא**... for **וְהִיא**<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.13. <sup>2</sup> Cf. **כַּחַסְנִים**, met before only as **כַּחִּים**; see also Introductory Note p.7f.  
<sup>3</sup> See Introductory Note p.7f.



The second lacuna of the line contains only one letter - the letter ' . Thus the reconstruction is **לחשיסו**.

8:16 The point of a letter is just visible at the beginning of the lacuna, and **ל** and part of an **ע** at the end. The width of the lacuna would thus indicate the reconstruction to be **כשר הדבר על**.

8:17 This line is virtually untranslatable. The word for "statute" can just be deciphered, but the form is not clear. The letters visible are ... **חוקי**, the ' only just being in evidence. It is probably either an absolute or construct plural. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> suggests "statutes of God", but there is no evidence for this conjectural reading. The word **בחוקים** occurs in 8:10 without **ל** following it.

9:8 **וכו** is clearly to be read into the lacuna, a simple reconstruction in view of the fact that parts of all the letters are visible and also that it is repeated in 12:1 as the conclusion of Hab. 2:17.

9:9 **בעין** is interpreted as an infinitive construct from **עין**. Dr. H. L. Ginsberg<sup>2</sup> suggests reading **לעין** here, giving the translation, "whom, for

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.13. <sup>2</sup> BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.9. Also Dupont-Sommer, followed by J. van der Ploeg; see Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, p.60, footnote 4.





an offence against the Teacher of Righteousness", perhaps a better translation in view of the preceding quotation. However, in the absence of a connecting preposition, **ןינב** would have to be in construct to the Teacher of Righteousness, i.e. making the offence one committed by him, "whom, for an offence of the Teacher of Righteousness".

It should be noted that the verb **נין** (as in 1 Sam. 18:9) is stronger even than the translation "look enviously". It implies looking with evil intent, or with desire for bodily harm and the ultimate annihilation of the person "looked at enviously". The Wicked Priest looks upon the Teacher of Righteousness with evil in his heart, plotting for his destruction.

9:10     **בִּיד מוֹיִבִּין** is almost certainly the reconstruction here. Parts of all the letters are visible, and the lacuna is not wide enough for any extra ones.

9:11     **נגנ** is used of a stroke or wound inflicted by one man upon another, but more often of the stroke of disease, especially that inflicted by God for punishment. This interpretation suits the context admirably and seems also to refer back to the same incident as 9:1f.

Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads **ככסה** for the second word in .

---

<sup>1</sup> B.SOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.14.



the line and translates, "that he might be consumed ...". This is incorrect, however, for the word is clearly **נבזז**, with a root meaning of "become old and worn out". This suits the context far better, the picture being of the Wicked Priest wasting away in both body and soul because of the evil he has done.

9:12 The fourth word appears at first sight to be **ששע**, but a closer inspection shows the mutilated **ש** to be in reality the remains of the two letters **בז**, thus yielding the word **ששעבז**, similar to the MT.

**בזבז** (as in the MT) is clearly the word to be read into the lacuna. Parts of the two missing letters are visible, fitting in perfectly with this reconstruction.

9:14 The second word is a clear example of a scribal error. He has written **קצולל**, but in 10:2, a requotation, he corrects it to **קצול**, the exact form of the MT.

The third word must be **עמים** to agree with **רבים** (as in the MT).

The lacuna at the end of the line is reconstructed from 10:2 as **והוא צפסכה**. Brownlee's<sup>1</sup> translation of **והוא** in both places as a 2nd sing. cannot be correct. It must be an irregular form of the

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.14.



participle with ' inserted as scriptio plena for the cere and the quiescent  $\nu$  dropped (cf. the MT וְחוֹשֵׁן).

- 9:15 This line may be restored in its entirety by reference to the MT of Hab. 2:11.
- 9:16 The quotation of Hab. 2:11 ends near the close of the previous line. As elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the scribe leaves the rest of the line blank and commences his commentary on the next line. This fact, together with the  $\eta$  just visible at the end of the first lacuna, gives the certain reconstruction פֶּשַׁר הַדָּבָר עַל.

It is very tempting to read (with Brownlee<sup>2</sup>) הַכֹּהֵן into the second lacuna, both in view of the nature of the passage cited and also the words הַכֹּהֵן אֲשֶׁר מָרַד (the priest who rebelled) in 8:16. The evidence from the scroll supporting this is threefold:- (i) the size of the lacuna, which is three or four units in width; (ii) the remains of a letter at the beginning of the lacuna which do not conflict with a possible  $\kappa$ ; (iii) the very indistinct remains of a final nun, which a closer inspection of the original would perhaps confirm. In view of this cumulative evidence

<sup>1</sup> e.g. 7:6f; 10:8f; etc.

<sup>2</sup> op.cit., p.14.



הַבִּיחַן is the most probable reconstruction.

10:3 The house of judgement, apparently so secure, is not to escape punishment for its many and great crimes. There is to be a poetic justice; God will pronounce judgement upon the house of judgement openly, "in the midst of many peoples".

10:4 יַעֲלֶזְנָה is construed as a Hiphil form with a 3rd masc. sing. pronominal suffix with nun energicum (cf. two similar forms in 10:5). Rabinowitz<sup>1</sup> feels, however, that this is a 1st plural suffix, but his resultant translation both is self-contradictory and does not fit well into the context; nor is it good exegesis of the Habakkuk citation (the subject of which is the oppressor, not God). The suffix here, and those in the next line, all refer to the house of judgement which, by its vigorous oppression, will indeed forfeit its own life when it receives God's judgement.

10:9 The Preacher of the Lie: מְשִׁיךְ הַכֶּזֶב (cf. מִישׁ הַכֶּזֶב in 2:1f and 5:11).

10:11 Wealth: כְּבוֹדָה. This is a better translation than 'glory' or 'splendour', especially in view of 8:8ff, if, of course, the Wicked Priest and the Preacher of

---

<sup>1</sup>JBL Vol.LXIX, Part I (March 1950), p.41, footnote 14.





the Lie are one and the same.

The key to the translation of this section is the fact that it is a commentary on Hab. 2:13. In that passage there is a distinct parallelism between the peoples wearying and the nations fainting. Thus here the translation "causing many to be weary with his work of vanity" is definitely to be preferred to, say, Brownlee's<sup>1</sup> translation "to compel many to engage in his labor of vanity". The author uses the same verb יגע here as in Hab. 2:13. By a similar argument לְהַרְוֹתִים is derived from רוּה, rather than, as Brownlee<sup>1</sup>, from ירה, in the Hiphil, teach, instruct (which anyway should be strictly לְהוֹרֹתִים, as the ה is present in the scroll).

10:12 There is just room for an ץ in the lacuna, making the reconstruction בְּחַפְצֵי

10:15 הִימִים is clearly the last word before the first lacuna (cf. the MT ים), though the slope of the topmost part of the partially visible ן could indicate that the ן is not final, i.e. the reconstruction would be the plural form הִימִיִּם.

אֲשֶׁר is read into the lacuna at the end of the line. The alternative (accepted by Brownlee<sup>2</sup>)

---

<sup>1</sup> op.cit., p.14.

<sup>2</sup> op.cit., p.15.



is על. However, the scribe writes ל with a very high stroke usually extending into the line above, and no such stroke is visible in 10:14. The furthest left it should be seen is between the ם and ם of כמים. However, the tear is high and the translation not affected materially.

10:16 The first word is almost certainly בשוב, in their turning, or, when they repent.

11:1 "the Lie". Brownlee<sup>1</sup> feels that this refers doubtlessly to the Man of the Lie. More likely it is the Preacher of the Lie, especially in view of the occurrence of the phrase מטיף הכזב so recently (10:9).

11:3 חמל: contrast the MT חמלך. This scroll confirms Wellhausen's suggested emendation of the MT at this point. The LXX, Syriac, Arabic Version and the Targum all omit the suffix completely.

מועדיהם: contrast the MT מעוריהם, their nakedness. The MT gives better sense, but the author here clearly comments upon 'festivals' and not 'nakedness'.

11:6 קץ is better translated "time" than "end" here.

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.18, note 73.



Brownlee<sup>1</sup> justifies this use of קץ by saying, "Not only does this word appear in the sense of time in Rabbinic sources; but it frequently has this meaning in the Sectarian Document".

11:9 מבוד is probably a scribal error for the MT מכבוד. והרעל is a clear case of transposition, as the following commentary is upon והערל, "and show thy uncircumcision". The latter reading is that followed in the MT, and also, probably, that to be found in the Syriac and Jerome's version. However, it should be noted that the LXX and the Arabic version read from והרעל, "and reel".

11:13 Reading עורלל for עורל. Cf. גחו לו in 12:3 for a further example of a ל separated from its immediately preceding letter.

11:14 Dr. Ginsberg<sup>1</sup> notes the literary allusion here to Dt. 29:18 (למען ספוט הרורו מל היצממה). The figure is of the man drinking to excess in order to satisfy his thirst, only to find himself thirstier than ever!

11:15 The first word must be מל, as the previous word was a construct and the next one is a verb, and also because the ל is visible and there is only room for one letter before it.

---

<sup>1</sup>BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.10.





The second lacuna is about 13 units wide.  
The suggested reconstruction is **לְאֹסִיף עָלָיו קִינָּוֹנוּ**.  
The tops of the two **ל**'s are both visible, and  
**קִינָּוֹנוּ** is preferred to **קִנָּוֹנוּ** in view of the  
width of the lacuna, and the fact that the author  
is commenting here upon Hab. 2:16cd (11:10,11).  
The resultant translation makes a good commentary  
upon the passage cited.

The last word of the line is probably the  
noun **כֹּחַ**, pain, rather than the Hiphil participle  
**כּוֹחֵ**, but the lack of a context makes a certain  
decision almost impossible. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> originally  
preferred the participle, but later<sup>2</sup> corrected this  
to the noun.

12:1 It is a pity that the preceding words are not  
extant. The difficult MT form **יִחַ'ן** (from **יָחַן**,  
in the Hiphil, terrify, confound) is replaced  
here by **יָחַן**, derived from **יָחַן**, snatch up,  
seize. This does not give the same parallelism  
as **יָחַן**, and its interpretation is thus difficult.  
Brownlee<sup>1</sup> suggests the preceding words to be  
"the spoil of the beasts", i.e. the MT **טֶשֶׁ** is  
translated spoil, not strictly correct. The word  
carries with it the sense of devastation, of havoc  
and violence, rather than that of loot or spoil.

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.15.

<sup>2</sup> BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.16.



Furthermore, there is a definite parallelism in the MT between this clause and the previous one which may be translated, "For the devastation of Lebanon shall overwhelm thee". Also Brownlee<sup>1</sup> uses a perfect ("he seized"), when the form of the verb is clearly imperfect.

The LXX, Syriac and Targum all base their translations upon the Hebrew **חחך**, and the word as found in this scroll could be a scribal error for **חחכה**, a form for the suffix which the scribe often uses<sup>2</sup>. However, in the absence of further information **חחך** is translated literally without any attempt at elucidating its meaning by reference to its context.

Brownlee<sup>3</sup> has one later suggestion. He indicates the possibility of reading **ח** for **ח**, making the word **וחחך** and the translation, "And terror of the blood of men". There are four drawbacks to this. Firstly, a construct form would be the most likely original of this translation, i.e. **וחחך דמי מדם**. Secondly, this would play havoc with the translation of Hab.2:17ab which almost certainly appeared in the non-extant portion at the bottom of column 11. It would completely unbalance the couplet. Thirdly, the

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.15.  
p.7f.

<sup>2</sup> See Introductory Note  
<sup>3</sup> BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.9.



refrain **בב..... יחד** (Hab. 2:17cd - 12:1)  
seems to be an entity in itself (as in Hab. 2:8cd - 9:8), and this suggestion would materially affect that. Fourthly, the following commentary is upon a text, the general tenor of which is that of the MT. The crimes of the Wicked Priest are to be visited upon him - there is to be a poetic justice. It must be, therefore, that **יחה** is the closing verb of Hab. 2:17b, however it be interpreted.

12:4 **עצא יחד**: literally, "the Council of the unitedness, or togetherness". In the Dead Sea Scrolls **יחד** is an original and distinctive name for the Sect<sup>1</sup>.

The translation of **עצא** presents some difficulty. Concerning its use in DSD Brownlee<sup>2</sup> says, "There is a constant ambiguity between "counsel" or "council", which can only be resolved where the context is clear". The word **עצא** thus in all probability carried both meanings, indicating Authority. Sometimes (as "counsel") it refers to the Sect's rule or discipline, but often<sup>3</sup> it clearly refers to a group of the Sect's leaders, i.e. "Council".

**עושה** is singular and can therefore only refer to Judah. It is Judah as a whole which is the "doer of the law". (So Brownlee<sup>4</sup> in his later corrections).

---

<sup>1</sup>See DSD p.7, note 4. See also Segal, JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), p.131f. <sup>2</sup>DSD p.7, note 16.  
<sup>3</sup>e.g. DSD 7:22; 8:1. <sup>4</sup>BASOR 116 (Dec. 1949), p.16.





12:5 The construction here is difficult, but it seems as if **אשר** must refer back to the Wicked Priest.

12:10) Hab. 2:18, quoted here, is very difficult but the

12:11)

12:12) thought is clear - it is a polemic against idolatry.

These man-created idols are useless, and yet the one who carves them trusts in them to keep him in work, that he might create more of these dumb objects of wood or stone.

12:15 The first lacuna begins most probably with a **ה**, and there is a **5** visible towards the end. Thus it would seem, especially from a consideration of the width of the lacuna, that **הוי** has been repeated at the beginning of this line (as suggested by Brownlee<sup>1</sup>). The line is reconstructed as follows:-

**הוי מומר לעץ הקיצה עורי לאבן דומה**. One point should be noted, however. This reconstruction cannot be entirely correct as the second lacuna is far too wide for the letters inserted to fill it satisfactorily. Perhaps the author wrote the Hiphil form of the verb (cf. **הקיצה**), and even added the conjunction, i.e. **והעירי**. This would fill the lacuna exactly.

**לאבן דומה**: literally, "to the stone of silence", i.e. "to the dumb stone". This fits in well with both the feminine form and the thought

---

<sup>1</sup> BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.18, note 81.





of "be astir". It is also a direct parallel to the first half of the couplet. The author's thought is that of a man, an artist, calling forth an idol out of a block of wood and an image out of a lump of rock. Brownlee<sup>1</sup> reads **רומה** for **דומה** (just possible as the letter in question is poorly executed) and thus derives his translation "to the lofty stone" from the root **רומ**, or, as he suggests in his earlier corrections<sup>2</sup>, "to the stone of Pride". This, however, does not give nearly as good sense as the reading **דומה**. Thus, in view of the dubious nature of the **ר**, the **ד** of the MT (**דומים**), and the argument given above, the reading **דומה** is definitely to be preferred<sup>3</sup>.

13:1 It may be possible to get some idea of the height of the columns here. The commentary in 13:1ff is apparently on Hab. 2:19,20 in its entirety. Hab. 2:20b is in the first half of 13:1, indicating that Hab. 2:19cd and 2:20a was probably at the bottom of column 12. The width of the column is about 33 units, which means that two extra lines would accomodate the missing portion perfectly. Thus, one can be almost certain that column 12 originally

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.16.

<sup>2</sup>BASOR 114 (April 1949), p.10.

<sup>3</sup>In BASOR 118 (April 1950), p.9, Brownlee finds upon an examination of the scroll itself the first letter to be clearly **ד** and the final letter to be a portion of the final mem, thus procuring the MT reading of **דומים**. From the photograph, however, the final letter seems clearly a **ר**. There is an extension to the top right of the letter, not present in the scribes final mem, but very often in evidence in

his 7.



contained 17 lines<sup>1</sup>.

הַרֵץ is a clear example of a scribal error  
for הַמֵּץ.

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Brownlee's article, "The Original Height of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Scroll", BASOR 118 (April 1950), pp. 7 - 9.



P A R T I I

The Interpretation and Historical

Setting of the Scroll





Many problems beset the student who attempts to identify the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, and the other characters mentioned in DSH with specific historical persons. This is reflected in the many theories put forward which cover periods from the pre-Hasmonean era to that of the Crusades<sup>1</sup>. Brownlee himself ingeniously (and probably with no small measure of truth) suggests that the Wicked Priest is a general term covering individual wicked priests over a period of time<sup>2</sup>. "The identity of the Wicked Priest at any one point", he says, "is ascertained by the allusions of the passage itself and by its sequence within the document".<sup>3</sup> Specific high priests of the period may be discussed, but none of them can be identified satisfactorily with the Wicked Priest of DSH. Alexander Jannaeus certainly fits the picture given admirably except for one important point. He cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to have been "called after the name of the truth when he first took office"<sup>4</sup>. His first act was to marry his brother's wife Salome. Now the levirate law did not apply to high priests; indeed they were expressly prohibited from marrying any but a virgin<sup>5</sup>. His subsequent acts well reflect this initial contempt for the law. Almost

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of these theories and their sources are summarised by Brownlee in BASOR 126 (April 1952), p.10.

<sup>2</sup> op.cit. p.10ff.

<sup>3</sup> op.cit. p.11.

<sup>4</sup> DSH 8:9.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. 21:13f.



immediately, too, he slew "one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom".<sup>1</sup> Thus he gave few signs of hope to any at the beginning of his reign. John Hyrcanus I could possibly have fulfilled this particular role (i.e. before he became a Sadducee)<sup>2</sup>, but his subsequent history does not well accord with the picture of a deceitful and vicious Wicked Priest as depicted in DSH. Further, we have no evidence that he died of a malignant disease<sup>3</sup>. "Hyrcanus", says Josephus, "... lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died".<sup>4</sup> Thus, one is almost forced to discard the idea of identifying the Wicked Priest with one particular high priest of this period.

The theory now put forward is that DSH contains a picture of the environment out of which the Sect arose and an interpretation of those events. Especial stress is laid upon the immediate situation at the time of writing, and the whole is interpreted in the light of Habakkuk's prophecy which is applied directly to this Sect. Further, it is suggested that the phrases "Teacher of Righteousness" and "Wicked Priest" (or allied phrases<sup>5</sup>) are general terms covering any of the leaders (of or

---

<sup>1</sup>Josephus, Ant. 13,12,1.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Raba's reported saying,

"Jannaeus was originally a wicked person, but John was originally a righteous person"; cited by Brownlee, op.cit. p.13, footnote 19.

<sup>3</sup>DSH 9:10f; cf. 9:1f.

<sup>4</sup>Ant. 13,10,7.

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix A.









Sadducee party. The New Covenant was based upon the law, not in the narrow sense of the Pentateuch, but embracing the prophets also.<sup>1</sup> This written law was expounded by the Star, or Lawgiver<sup>2</sup> and was to be obeyed faithfully by the Sect until the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness "in the end of the days".<sup>3</sup> The full acceptance of the prophets created a vital difference with the Sadducees who only acknowledged the law of Moses. The emphasis upon the written law, as expounded by the Lawgiver, also differentiated the Sect from the Pharisees who regarded themselves in addition as custodians of the oral tradition. Further, certain beliefs and practices of the Sect contrasted deeply with those of the Sadducees, while others were in conflict with those of the Pharisees.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Sect became a via media between the Sadducean right and the Pharisaic left of Judaism.

It seems clear that Damascus was not to be a permanent headquarters of the Sect.<sup>5</sup> Their priestly

---

<sup>1</sup> The Torah and the prophets seem to have the highest status - see DSD 1:3, and cf. DSH 2:9; 7:5. Other writings seem to have a secondary position, e.g. Pro. 15:8 is cited in CDC 14:1, and various Pseudepigraphical writings are referred to also in CDC - see Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol.II, p.790.

<sup>2</sup> cf. CDC 9:8 and 8:8.

<sup>3</sup> CDC 8:10

<sup>4</sup> Summarised

in Charles, op.cit. p.790f.

<sup>5</sup> cf. CDC 8:6,15; 9:28,37.





background demanded a deep interest in the Temple<sup>1</sup>, their sole sanctuary, and also in the holy city of Jerusalem the seat of this sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> Their basic concern was for the people in all the cities of Israel who were to be instructed in this fresh concept of the law as revealed and interpreted by the Lawgiver.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, therefore, the Sect returned to its homeland in order to establish groups of followers and to organise those who were in sympathy with its ideals.<sup>4</sup> Only the faithful could share in the worship or the councils of the Sect, and the Censor had absolute authority over the admittance of prospective candidates for membership.<sup>5</sup> The discipline within the Sect was to be strict and strongly enforced.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the whole period of wickedness there was to be implicit obedience to the precepts of the Lawgiver, for no fresh revelation would be forthcoming until the Teacher of Righteousness arose "in the end of the days"<sup>7</sup>, an eschatological and indefinite phrase. During this period an eminent leader of the Sect emerged known as the Unique Teacher or the Unique Teacher of Righteousness, whose

---

<sup>1</sup>The Zadokite priests were not to take part in the Temple ritual unless they had fulfilled certain conditions, CDC 8:11-20. Also, that they clearly did share in the Temple sacrifices is indicated by CDC 13:27.

<sup>2</sup>CDC 9:46; 14:4. <sup>3</sup>CDC 15:1-3. <sup>4</sup>"Congregation"

(עדה) occurs frequently in CDC. Other words used are סוד (assembly), קהל (congregation), חבור (community) and מחנה (camp). <sup>5</sup>CDC 16:6. The word for Censor

is מבקר, and is translated in DSD by Brownlee as "Supervisor", (See DSD p.25, note 24). His duties are outlined in DSD 6:8-23, where he seems to be equated with the "Overseer" (הפקיד), and also in CDC 10:10-13; 15:7 - 16:8; 17:6 - 18:2; 19:8-12.

<sup>6</sup>CDC 14:6;

<sup>7</sup>CDC 8:10. 9:31ff. See also DSD 6:24 - 9:11.



death is recorded.<sup>1</sup> After his death matters move towards a climax,<sup>2</sup> reached with the coming of a militant Messiah,<sup>3</sup> identified here with the Teacher of Righteousness who will arise "in the end of the days",<sup>4</sup> and who will destroy the faithless and reward his true followers in the Sect. This consummation is spoken of in CDC as still in the future.

Thus, basically from CDC, we may secure a rough outline of the history of the Sect, but with few specific dates. It may be set down as follows:-

Reformation movement within the priesthood, c.200 B.C.

Formation of the party under a Teacher of Righteousness, c.180 B.C.

Migration to Damascus under the Star, or Lawgiver, and the establishment of the New Covenant.

Return to Israel, and branches established in many Israelite cities.

Rise to eminence of the Unique Teacher of Righteousness, and his death.

The writing of CDC.

The coming of the Messiah, or Teacher of Righteousness par excellence, possibly looked for about 40 years after the death of the Unique Teacher.

---

<sup>1</sup> CDC 9:29,39,53.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly over a period of at least 40 years, referred to in CDC 9:39.

<sup>3</sup> CDC 2:10; 9:10B; 9:29 (contrasted here with the Unique Teacher); 15:4; 18:8.

<sup>4</sup> CDC 8:10.



Now, where does DSH fit into this historical scheme? The first two columns are badly mutilated, but seem to form an introduction to the whole work, setting forth the problem as it appears to the author at the time of writing<sup>1</sup> (as indeed Habakkuk himself did in the first few verses). The background history commences in 2:10 with Habakkuk's reference to the rise of the Chaldeans. From 2:10 to 4:13 the author applies the whole horrific picture of the oppression of the Chaldeans directly to the Chittim.<sup>2</sup> In similar vein is the passage 5:12 to 6:12. The present situation in Palestine is overshadowed by the memory of Seleucid overlordship (and the ever-present threat of a resuscitation of Seleucid power<sup>3</sup>), itself derived from the Greek onslaught of Alexander's armies which conquered the whole area. The religio-politics of the Jewish leaders were conditioned considerably by the Hellenistic influences brought to bear upon them as a result of this historical situation.

---

<sup>1</sup> "The last days" of DSH 2:5f refer probably to his own day. See p.85. Cf. "the last generation" of DSH 2:7, and the word "generation" at the end of DSH 1:2, which might well refer to the last generation. <sup>2</sup> i.e. the Greeks; see Appendix C. <sup>3</sup> e.g. the Jews had called in Demetrius III (Eukairos) in the struggle against Jannaeus. He won a victory, but many Jews, fearing such an alliance with Syria, changed sides and Demetrius fled the country. Josephus, Ant. 13,13,5 - 13,14,2. Also, the expeditions into Judaea by Antiochus (Eucerus) and the Nabatean king Aretas III (Harethath), who had already reached Damascus. Josephus, Ant. 13,15,1f.







It was against this Hellenistic background that the Sect originated and its chief characteristics became crystallised. Throughout the Maccabaeen revolt and the establishment of an independent state in Palestine the Sect was able to strengthen itself and expand without interference. In 134 B.C. Antiochus VII (Sidetes), "the last king in whom the energy and determination of the first Seleucids shone forth",<sup>1</sup> determined to restore full Seleucid power in the west. The same year Simon, the last of the Maccabaeen brothers, was murdered and John Hyrcanus became ruler and high priest. The Jews succumbed to the new Seleucid onslaught, and Hyrcanus was not able to reestablish an independent state until after the death of Antiochus in 129 B.C. From then on he extended the kingdom in all directions. His "was a brilliant reign, but it marked a transition from the heroic Maccabees to the vulgar kings who followed".<sup>2</sup> One of the signs of transition was that John Hyrcanus left the Pharisaic party and went over to the Sadducees. This could very easily have affected the status of the Sect for there resulted some religious persecution. Josephus relates how Hyrcanus' great friend Jonathan (a Sadducee) was instrumental in his conversion, and how he "influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Snaith, The Jews from Cyrus to Herod, p.43f.

<sup>2</sup> Gwatkin, Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem, p.608 in A Commentary on the Bible (ed. A. S. Peake).



Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude".<sup>1</sup> Now, the Zadokite sect could well regard this winning over of Hyrcanus to the Sadducee party as a crucial point in its history. Before this time they had considerable religious toleration and were able to carry on their missionary work in the cities of Israel unhindered. From now on they became a persecuted sect and their activity hampered by much difficulty. The Wicked Priest is first mentioned in DSH in 8:8, and the picture there depicted fits John Hyrcanus I admirably. He was regarded with hope when he first took office (because of his exceedingly tolerant rule), but as time went on he "became proud", "forsook God and was faithless to the statutes for the sake of wealth".<sup>2</sup>

In all probability the persecution of the Sect was spasmodic and not at all intense, and life continued, more uncertain it is true, but without noteworthy event until the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103 - 76 B.C.). During this period there arose a new and preeminent leader of the Sect, the Teacher of Righteousness of DSH 9:9f and

---

<sup>1</sup> Ant. 13,10,6.      <sup>2</sup> DSH 8:10f; cf. Josephus, Ant. 13,8,4, "But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops".



11:5, who may well be identified with the Unique Teacher or the Unique Teacher of Righteousness of CDC. Alexander Jannaeus is noted for his terrible cruelty and barbarity, and for his vigorous suppression of any opposition whatever its source. He was a man, the quintessence of irreligion and hypocrisy for a high priest, who would go out of his way to flout the proper regulations for observing the Temple rituals.<sup>1</sup> This contempt for matters so sacred to the sincere Jew seems referred to in DSH 11:6ff and 12:7ff. As has been noted<sup>2</sup> the threat of the Seleucids is as real as ever and the author of DSH can still look to the Chittiim (the Greeks) as the agent of destruction of the apostate "last priests of Jerusalem".<sup>3</sup> In this section of DSH the author seems to be reaching the climax of his work, and we may be sure that the events referred to are close to his own day. In view of the tremendous apostasy among the leaders he would be convinced indeed that he was living in the end of the days. He thus refers to the contemporary priesthood of Jerusalem as "the last priests of Jerusalem",<sup>4</sup> who are at present apostate.<sup>5</sup> Now, this whole climactic section (8:13 to 12:10) seems to refer to the period of Alexander Jannaeus

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Josephus, Ant. 13,13,5.

<sup>3</sup>DSH 9:4ff.

<sup>4</sup>DSH 9:4.

<sup>2</sup>p.82, footnote 3.

<sup>5</sup>Translating the verb

by a present tense rather than future, as Brownlee, who turns a reference to Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II upon the translation of this imperfect as a future tense — BASOR 126 (April 1952), p.15.





and if indeed the events described are those immediately preceding the date of composition of the scroll, can we determine with any degree of accuracy the date of writing, one that is in harmony with all the evidence both external and internal?

The Wicked Priest (Alexander Jannaeus) is in violent opposition to the Teacher of Righteousness,<sup>1</sup> but there is no record of the death of either. The Wicked Priest (probably the same as the priest who rebelled,<sup>2</sup> i.e. both refer to Jannaeus here) seems, however, to be suffering from a malignant disease, but there is no evidence that he has yet died.<sup>3</sup> Now, Josephus records, "After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan".<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a reference to this in 11:8ff when it says, "the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory"<sup>5</sup> ..... walked in the ways of drunkenness in order to satisfy his thirst. For the cup of the wrath of God will swallow him ...". Further, his death being referred to as future seems clear from 12:2 and 5 ("the Wicked Priest ... whom God will condemn to utter destruction"). Thus we may

---

<sup>1</sup> DSH 9:9f; 11:4ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> DSH 8:16 - 9:2, and 9:10f.

<sup>4</sup> Ant. 13, 15, 5.

<sup>5</sup> A variant reference to the Wicked Priest, or Alexander Jannaeus; see Appendix A.





place the writing of the scroll between say 79 and 76 B.C. as the greatest possible extremes. Allowing time for the disease to develop, for the news to reach the Sect and for the scroll to be written, we may set with a high degree of probability the year 77 B.C. for the date of composition, as satisfying all the factors involved. Evidence for this specific date is admittedly limited, but it seems to the writer to be valid in view of the general background and the total picture envisaged.

The death of the Teacher of Righteousness (= the Unique Teacher of CDC) cannot be ascertained with any such certainty. The author is convinced that he is living in the end of the days, but the final consummation, long expected, is yet delayed.<sup>1</sup> He is in a quandary as to who shall bring about this consummation.<sup>2</sup> Clearly then, the contemporary Teacher of Righteousness is not the one looked for. The implication would be that he has evidently accomplished his greatest work and is now well past his prime. His death would very likely therefore be not long after that of Jannaeus, and we may set a date of 70 B.C. as a purely conjectural date for his death. After DSH had been written and the Teacher had died, the Sect (as is clear from CDC) looked for a Messiah, or Teacher of Righteousness par excellence, who would inaugurate the end.

---

<sup>1</sup>  
DSH 7:7,12.

<sup>2</sup>  
DSH 7:2.



The thesis that the Teacher of Righteousness is a general term covering any of the leaders of the Sect seems borne out by some of the earlier references to him in DSH. There he could well be identified with the Star, or Lawgiver, of CDC. This Lawgiver expounded the law, and his precepts were to be obeyed faithfully by the Sect throughout the period of wickedness.<sup>1</sup> This exposition would be truly regarded as derived from God, for save it "they shall get nothing until there arises the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of the days".<sup>2</sup> Now, there is an interesting parallel in DSH 2:2ff; "they did not believe the words of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God; and it concerns those who are faithless to the New Covenant ...". While the context of this passage from DSH seems to refer to the current situation at the time of writing, the Teacher of Righteousness cannot refer to the contemporary one in view of the passage from CDC (written after DSH). Further, there is evidently, from the DSH passage, a connection between the words of the Teacher of Righteousness and the New Covenant, giving weight to the argument that he is to be identified with the Star or Lawgiver. There is one further important piece of evidence in the same DSH passage of interpretation. "The deceivers in the last days ... do not believe in

---

<sup>1</sup> CDC 8:8ff; 9:8.

<sup>2</sup> CDC 8:10, the end of the days for CDC being of course the period when it was written, this final Teacher or Messiah to come shortly afterwards.



those who hear all the things that are to come upon the last generation from the mouth of the priest in whose heart God set wisdom to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets ...".<sup>1</sup> By comparison with 7:4f this priest is almost certainly the Teacher of Righteousness, and as his function is that of expounder of the prophets we may again come to the valid conclusion that this refers to the Lawgiver. The next reference is DSH 5:10, a passage sandwiched between the two sections concerned with the rampages of the Chittiim. Identification with the Star would give this an ideal historical setting, and would also shed light on the place in history for the incident concerning the house of Absalom referred to there. Perhaps the most conclusive reference to this Teacher of Righteousness is in DSH 7:4. To him "God made known all the secrets of the words of his servants the prophets".<sup>2</sup> This again is the exact function of the Star or Lawgiver who expounded the law and apart from whose exposition there will be no further light shed until the Teacher of Righteousness, or Messiah, comes in the end of the days. CDC knows of no intermediary interpreter between the Lawgiver and the final Teacher or Messiah. The final reference to this Teacher of Righteousness is in DSH 8:3, where the doers of the law (the Sect) will be delivered because of their faith in

---

<sup>1</sup> DSH 2:5ff.

<sup>2</sup> cf. DSH 2:7ff, as above.







the Teacher of Righteousness, i.e. in all that he taught. The scroll then passes on to the reign of John Hyrcanus, as outlined above, and the rise of a new Teacher of Righteousness (the Unique Teacher of CDC) towards the end of his reign. It seems most probable, therefore, that in DSH we have two Teachers of Righteousness and two Wicked Priests. The Teacher of Righteousness of 2:2, 5:10, 7:4 and 8:3 is to be identified with the Star or Lawgiver, while that of 9:9f and 11:5 is the same as the Unique Teacher. The Wicked Priest of 8:8 is John Hyrcanus, while that of 9:9, 11:4, 12:2 and 12:8 refers to Alexander Jannaeus. The brief reign of Aristobulus I is passed over, there being no important events pertinent to the Sect during his rule.

DSH may now be outlined in tabular form as follows:-

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1:1 - 2:10                   | Introduction, containing a summary of the contemporary situation and the problems involved in it for members of the Sect.                         |
| 2:10 - 4:13)<br>5:12 - 6:12) | The background of the Greek invasions, resulting in a most powerful Hellenistic influence and environment, against which the Sect had its origin. |
| 4:13 - 5:12                  | A parenthesis of interpretation of these events from the Sectarian point of view. Those who are loyal to God                                      |



will be saved in the general destruction.  
The incident of the house of Absalom.

6:12 - 7:5      The revelation of the last things  
(except the one who would bring about  
the end) in Habakkuk, interpreted by  
the Teacher of Righteousness (the Star  
or Lawgiver of CDC).

7:5 - 8:3      The end delayed, and the doers of the  
law (the Sect) to remain faithful, thus  
assuring themselves of deliverance.

8:3 - 8:13      Reference to John Hyrcanus I, a time  
of crisis for the Sect.

8:13 - 12:10    The violent reign of Alexander Jannaeus.  
His enormities are to be visited upon  
him and his death predicted. The climax  
of the scroll, the events being close to  
the time of writing.

12:10 - 13:4    Conclusion. A polemic against idolatry.  
Idolaters and the wicked will all be  
destroyed on the Day of Judgement. This  
was evidently felt to be the basic sin  
of the opponents of the Sect.



The general picture of the Sect may thus be expanded in the light of DSH as follows:-

- c.200 B.C.      Reformation movement within the  
priesthood against the background of  
a Hellenistic environment.
- c.180 B.C.      Formation of the party under a Teacher  
of Righteousness. (Could this Teacher  
of Righteousness be the same as the Star?)

Migration to Damascus under the Star or  
Lawgiver (the Teacher of Righteousness  
of the first half of DSH) and the  
establishment of the New Covenant.

Return to Israel and branches founded  
in many Israelite cities. The Sect to  
obey implicitly the exposition of the  
law and prophets by the Lawgiver.

- John Hyrcanus I      Gradual development and expansion until  
134 - 104 B.C.      the crisis in John Hyrcanus' high  
priesthood, after which some persecution.

- Alexander Jannaeus      Persecution very much intensified under  
103 - 76 B.C.      Alexander Jannaeus. The Unique Teacher  
(the Teacher of Righteousness of the  
last half of DSH) his contemporary.

- c.77 B.C.      DSH written.

- 76 B.C.      Death of Alexander Jannaeus.



c. 70 B.C. (?) Death of the Unique Teacher.

CDC written.<sup>1</sup>

The coming of the Teacher of Righteousness par excellence, or the Messiah, possibly looked for about 40 years after the death of the Unique Teacher.

The subsequent history of the Sect is unknown, though Charles makes the suggestion<sup>2</sup> that many found their Messiah in Jesus Christ and joined the early Church.<sup>3</sup> Any speculation, however, must of necessity be highly conjectural, and Segal would suggest that while some members of the Sect returned to Judaea the remainder effected a permanent settlement in Syria. He says, "We can only conjecture that, cut off from the living body of its people, the Sect continued a precarious and languishing existence for some generations until it was finally absorbed by the medley of anti-Rabbinic factions which eventually crystallised in the great Karaite Sect to whom it bequeathed the text of its holy book CDC".<sup>4</sup> The only fact that is certain, however, is that the Sect eventually died out, and the above two suggestions may give some idea as to what happened to the various factions within the Sect.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup>Probably written shortly after the death of the Unique Teacher according to the general pattern of the Sect's history suggested here. The date of CDC has been much disputed, but Pfeiffer concludes tentatively with a general date of between 100 B.C. and 70 A.D. — History of New Testament Times, p.58. <sup>2</sup>op.cit. p.786.  
<sup>3</sup>cf. Acts 6:7, "and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith". <sup>4</sup>JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), p.147.





Appendix A

The Wicked Priest and his Sobriquets

In the absence of any mutually exclusive statements it is natural to assume that the Wicked Priest, the Man of the Lie, the Preacher of the Lie, the priest who rebelled and the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory are but different opprobrious names for the same character, and thus we are justified in identifying any one of these with any particular Wicked Priest of the period of the Sect's history. Indeed, far from being contradictory, the character sketches of these men as extracted from DSH overlap and support each other to an intriguing degree, thus indicating that the characteristics of the leaders of the opponents of the Sect throughout its history in its eyes bind them together into a unity. The Wicked Priest and the priest who rebelled (most probably) both suffer from a malignant disease.<sup>1</sup> The Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie (by implication) are opponents of the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>2</sup> The Wicked Priest, the Preacher of the Lie and possibly the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory are all idolaters, worshipping wealth.<sup>3</sup> Deceit is the characteristic of the Man of the Lie and the Preacher of the Lie.<sup>4</sup> Pride and vanity are

---

<sup>1</sup> DSH 9:10f and 9:1f.

<sup>2</sup> DSH 9:9f, 11:4f and 2:1f.

<sup>3</sup> DSH 8:10ff, 10:10f and 11:13f.

<sup>4</sup> DSH 2:1f and 10:9ff.



characteristics of the Wicked Priest and the Preacher of the Lie.<sup>1</sup> The Wicked Priest, the Man of the Lie, the priest who rebelled and the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory are all apostates, rejecting the true faith and perverting the faithful.<sup>2</sup> Divine punishment either will or has come upon the Wicked Priest, the Preacher of the Lie, probably the priest who rebelled and the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory.<sup>3</sup> Thus we may get some idea of the type of man in whom was focussed the opposition to the Sect.

It is clearly valid, therefore, to identify these characters in any way indicated by the historical context of the scroll. All the characteristics outlined above except one are general rather than specific, the exception being the Wicked Priest of 9:9 and the priest who rebelled of 8:16 who both suffer from a malignant disease. It is important, therefore, that these two should be identified with one specific historical person. In view of the discussion in Part II and the outline of DSH given there the following conclusions are reached:- The Man of the Lie of 2:1f and 5:11 both refer to an early Wicked Priest who opposed the Star or Lawgiver (in view of the close connection between him and the Teacher of Righteousness, i.e. the Star, in those passages). The

---

<sup>1</sup> DSH 8:10 and 10:9f.  
5:11f, 8:16f and 11:13.  
and 11:14f.

<sup>2</sup> DSH 8:10, 8:12f, 11:7f, 12:8f,  
<sup>3</sup> DSH 9:10f, 10:12f, 9:1f



Wicked Priest of 8:8 is, as has been noted, John Hyrcanus I. The Wicked Priest of 9:9, 11:4, 12:2 and 12:8, the priest who rebelled of 8:16, the Preacher of the Lie of 10:9 and 11:1<sup>1</sup> and the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory of 11:12 all refer to Alexander Jannaeus.

\* \* \* \* \*

---

<sup>1</sup>This is probably a reference to him - see note on 11:1, p.67. If, however, the last word of the previous column was *ו'נ*, then this reference to the Man of the Lie would be to Jannaeus.





Appendix B

The Migration to Damascus

Floyd V. Filson would place this exodus of the Sect from Palestine in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, "as other competent scholars have done",<sup>1</sup> and Segal<sup>2</sup> would agree with this. The reason for the migration they would find in the civil war of Jannaeus' reign and his subsequent slaughter of all opponents. Moreover, Segal<sup>2</sup> would suggest that there was then a permanent settlement in Syria and a severance of the Sect from the Jewish people. However, this is very difficult to believe in view of the deep interest and concern of the Sect for the Temple, Jerusalem and the people in all the cities of Israel.<sup>3</sup> One can scarcely imagine the Sect deliberately cutting itself off from those very things which it was raised up to reform. The Temple had too strong a pull and the Sect's whole emphasis was meaningless outside a Jewish context.

Further, on this late theory one must postulate two covenants (which is indeed what Segal does<sup>4</sup>), an earlier one in the Sect's history and this later revised New Covenant formulated in Damascus. However, this is a most unlikely and unsatisfactory hypothesis. Any earlier

---

<sup>1</sup>BA Vol.XIII, No.4 (Dec. 1950), p.99.

<sup>2</sup>JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), p.147.

<sup>3</sup>See p.80. <sup>4</sup>op.cit. p.142f.



covenant would be regarded as referring to the old Mosaic covenant, and any modification of this would indeed be a New Covenant. Jeremiah, for example, looks for a "New Covenant,"<sup>1</sup> a phrase which this Sect has clearly taken over. If there were an earlier covenant, therefore, in the Sect's history then it would seem to be far more likely that that would be the New Covenant rather than the later one. However, it seems that Segal's two covenants are a convenient fiction (without any supporting evidence) to bolster up the theory of a late migration to Damascus, or rather brought in as a necessary corollary of the late theory. It is far more reasonable to postulate one New Covenant rather than two, a New Covenant which, formulated early, gave to the Sect its particular characteristics and objectives.

Moreover, DSD clearly refers to a covenant apart from the Mosaic covenant, and in the absence of contrary evidence there is no reason to assume anything other than that this covenant is the New Covenant of the Sect. DSD was probably written about 125 - 100 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and by that time the details concerning the initiates, the annual reenactment of the Covenant and the whole discipline of the Sect seem to have been well crystallised. Further, the setting for DSD is most naturally Israel rather than

---

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 31:31.

<sup>2</sup> See Birnbaum, BASOR 115 (Oct. 1949), p.22.



Damascus. The natural inference is that a considerable number of years have passed since the Covenant was first inaugurated and the group has now returned to Israel. We may, therefore, set the date for the migration to Damascus, the first entering into the New Covenant and the return to Israel as broadly between 180 and 150 B.C. The earlier the date of migration in this period the more probable becomes the suggested identification of the Teacher of Righteousness who welded the group of reformers into a party (c. 180 B.C.) and the Star.<sup>1</sup>

There is no reason necessarily to postulate a civil war or even a period of intense persecution as a cause for the migration, though this may well have been the case. It is very possible that the unsolved mystery of the incident of the house of Absalom<sup>2</sup> (suggested as taking place during the life of the Star<sup>3</sup>) could have been the determining factor which led to the migration (and as such was included in DSH as being one of the landmarks in the history of the Sect). This could therefore well prove to be a key passage in DSH with respect to its interpretation. However, it is impossible to be specific in any way concerning the facts that led to the decision to migrate to Damascus, and the theory suggested here is that the migration to Damascus came early in the Sect's history and not late,<sup>4</sup> and that the

---

<sup>1</sup>See p.92.

<sup>2</sup>DSH 5:9ff.

<sup>3</sup>See p.89.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Pfeiffer's statement, "If, like R. H. Charles, we regard the figure "390" as exact and if we assume on the part of the author a chronological accuracy unparalleled in ancient Jewish literature for the period from 586 B.C. to 175 B.C., we may date the schism and the journey to Damascus soon after 176 B.C.". History of New Testament Times, p.57.



New Covenant there formulated was the one factor that held the group together after its return to Palestine and throughout its brief history.

\* \* \* \* \*





Appendix C

The Identification of the Chittiim

There is no reason to suppose that the Chittiim of DSH are any other than the Chittiim, i.e. the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> This scroll is an interpretation of Habakkuk, and in the historical situation at the time of writing there would be no need to use a term that itself would need interpreting, i.e. that the Chittiim refer to the Romans. Further, little but confusion is gained by reading the Romans for the Chittiim, and it is far better to retain the simplest and most natural meaning of Greeks unless there is strong reason to change it. Indeed, the Chittiim are identified in the scroll as "the remainder of the peoples",<sup>2</sup> and this phrase is far more applicable to a declining Seleucid strength than to the rising Roman power.

The basic piece of internal evidence leading some to make this erroneous identification<sup>3</sup> is the sentence, "Its meaning is that they are the ones (i.e. the Chittiim) who sacrifice to their standards, and the weapons of their military campaigns these are the object of their reverence".<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. the כְּתִיִּי מַעֲרִים and the כְּתִיִּי מַשׁוּר, the Kittites of Assyria and the Kittites of Egypt, in the "Scroll of the War of the Children of Light with the Children of Darkness", which Ginsberg agrees with Sukenik in identifying as the Seleucid and Ptolomaic Greeks respectively; see Ginsberg, BASOR 112 (Dec. 1948), p.20.

<sup>2</sup>DSH 9:7. <sup>3</sup>e.g. Segal (following Dupont-Sommer), JBL Vol.LXX, Part II (June 1951), p.133ff; J. van der Ploeg, cited by Brownlee in BASOR 126 (April 1952), p.11, note 7, which Brownlee himself accepts (op.cit. p.15); Teicher, cited by Rowley in The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, p.56, with which, however, Rowley disagrees (op.cit. p.72ff).

<sup>4</sup>DSH 6:3ff.



Taken literally this is regarded as referring to the actual practice of the Roman army and therefore the Chittiim must be a cryptic reference to the Romans. Far stronger evidence, however, is necessary for this identification, for it is very probable that the sentence should be taken not literally but metaphorically, as was the original quotation from Habakkuk referring to the Chaldeans sacrificing to their weapons. We have no knowledge that the Chaldeans actually did this literally. We use the same metaphor to-day when we say that a man worships money. This does not mean that he actually prostrates himself before an effigy of the dollar or pound and offers prayer and worship to it, or even that he swears allegiance to money. It does mean, however, that money is life to him, that it is all in all to him and that it is all he lives for. In the same way the weapons of their military campaigns mean everything to the Chittiim. Thus, in view of the complete lack of strong evidence to the contrary, it is wisest and most natural to regard the Chittiim as the Greeks.

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*











**B29767**